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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Knights Hospitallers

OF

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Styled afterwards,

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at present,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

Translated from the FRENCH of

Monf. L'ABBE DE VERTOT.

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BOOK IV.

THE knights hospitallers that had taken refuge in the isle of Cyprus, uncertain of their fate, destitute of houses to [illegible] dwell in, and of any thing to subsist on, [illegible] stripped of their all, and most of them [illegible] very much wounded, looked upon themselves in that strange country as in a state of banishment: they all upbraided themselves for having outlived their brethren; hope itself, the last comfort of the miserable, failed them, and death, which daily carried off some brother of the wounded, made [illegible] ces too slow for their wishes.

In this miserable situation, the grand [illegible], to prevent the extinction of his order in the Levant, [illegible]

general ſummons to the hoſpitallers that were diſperſed in moſt of the provinces of Chriſtendom. Their orders were to come to Limiſſo, where the grand maſter had, by the ſame citation, called a general chapter, to conſider, in this melancholy juncture, what meaſures the order ſhould take with regard to its ſettlement.

SOON as theſe orders arrived in Europe, the knights were every where in motion. They all readily quitted their country, their commandries, or the houſes of their relations; no excuſe was made for want of money or of health; no body was mean enough to have recourſe to pretexts ſo unworthy of their character. The old as well as young flocked to the ſea ſide; the ports were crowded with them, all ſtriving with equal eagerneſs to find opportunities of embarking. Such as went off firſt thought themſelves the happieſt; and, notwithſtanding the diſtance of the places that they came from, they arrived ſoon one after another in the ports of Cyprus.

THE iſland of Cyprus, which we ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention in this work, is one of the moſt conſiderable of the Aſiatic iſles, and ſituated in the Carpathian ſea, in the further part of the Mediterranean, oppoſite to the coaſts of Pamphilia and Cilicia, or Caramania, as it is now called. The gulph of Iſſus, called by the Italians Golfo di Lajazzo, waſhes it on the eaſt, the Egyptian ſea on the ſouth, Pamphilia on the weſt, and this famous iſle is hardly above forty leagues from Paleſtine, or the Holy Land.

IT was firſt governed by certain tyrants that aſſumed a ſovereignty over it: then the kings of Egypt reduced it under their dominion: they were afterwards diſpoſſeſſed by the Romans, the tyrants of well nigh all the known world; and the Greeks, at laſt, ſucceeded to the Romans. The iſle of Cyprus made part of the empire of Conſtantinople: it was taken by the Mahometan Arabians, in the reign of the caliph Oſman, and the empire of Heraclius, but the Greeks afterwards recovered it. Richard Cœur de Lion, king of England, in his

his paſſage to the Holy Land, conquered it, driving out Iſaac Comnenus, who being the governor, had ſet himſelf up for ſovereign of the iſland; and, it may be remembered, what we already obſerved, that the Engliſh monarch ſold it immediately to the templars, which order was then as rich and powerful as many ſovereigns; but that the differences between the Greek and Latin churches occaſioning continual ſeditions, they had given up their right to Guy de Luſignan.

'TIS neceſſary to obſerve further [a], that this crown fell by ſucceſſion to Amaury his brother, who left it to his ſon Hugh I. father of Henry I. his ſucceſſor. He was father to Hugh II. who died young, and without iſſue; another Hugh, his couſin german, deſcended from the brave Normans, that drove the Saracens out of Calabria, Apulia and Sicily, and 1604. whoſe father had married Henry's ſiſter, ſucceeded him in the throne, and, to make himſelf more agreeable to the Cypriots [b], took the ſirname of Luſignan. John his ſon inherited the crown after him, and left it to Henry II. who gave the hoſpitallers and templars this reception in his iſland.

SUCH was the ſtate of the iſle of Cyprus, when the ſummons ſent by the grand maſter to all parts of Chriſtendom, ſpread every where the news of the taking of St. John d'Acre by the infidels, the entire expulſion of the Chriſtians out of Paleſtine, and the almoſt irreparable loſſes ſuſtained by the hoſpitallers and templars in the defence of that place.

POPE Nicholas IV. was then on the throne of St. Peter. This pontiff, at the melancholy news, ſcattered in a terrible conſternation, and diſpatched couriers into all parts, to give advice of it to the Chriſtian princes. By his order, and with their conſent, ſeveral provincial councils were held, to conſider of the moſt ready and effectual means to recover the Holy Land, and every

[a] L'Hiſt. des Royaumes de Jeruſalem, Cypre & Armenie par le P. Paulmier de Luſignan.

[b] Aſſiſes & bons uſages du Royaume de Jeruſalem par Jean d'Ibelin, Comte de Jaffa & d'Aſcalon.

metropolitan sent him afterwards the result of their debates in these assemblies.

IT appears from the accounts and journals of these councils, that the sum of their opinions generally was to desire the pope to use his good offices with the princes of Christendom [a] that were at war with one another, to persuade them to end their differences by a solid and lasting peace, or at least by a long truce, that they might be in a condition to unite their forces, and turn their arms in concert against the infidels. They observed particularly to the pontiff, that he ought to apply to Philip the fair, who was then upon the throne of France, and the most potent monarch in Christendom, and exhort him to put himself at the head of so holy an enterprise; and that it would be proper at the same time to renew the prohibitions of the councils of Lateran and Lyons against supplying the infidels with arms [b]. In fine, as experience furnished abundant grounds of apprehension, that the old antipathy might again break out between the hospitallers and templars, they proposed to the pope to unite those two military orders [c], to make them but one body, and put them under the same head; and that for preventing the cabals and intrigues that are but too common in elections, the grand master should not be chosen by the votes of the knights, but, in case of a vacancy, the pope and his successors should have the sole right of naming that superior.

PURSUANT to these several proposals, the pope dispatched away legates and nuncios to most of the western princes, to engage them to put a speedy end to their particular wars, and remove that obstacle to a general crusade. He did not fail to have it represented in particular to Philip the Fair, that the other sovereigns of Europe had their eyes fixed upon him, in order to make his conduct the rule of their own; and that if he put on the cross, he might be assured that those princes by

[a] Concil. gen. t. 11. p. 1361. [b] Rainaldi ad ann. 1291. num. 22. [c] Idem. ibid. num. 29 & 30.

by his example, would do the ſame; and, beſides the merit of ſo pious an enterpriſe, he would have the glory of appearing like a king of kings, and at the head of moſt of the monarchs of Chriſtendom.

BUT Philip, a prince of ſolid judgment, was not eaſily caught with ſuch flatteries, being well ſatisfied, that his firſt duty was to take care of the government of his own kingdom. The pope, not receiving an anſwer ſuitable to his expectations, wrote back to him, that if the affairs of his kingdom neceſſarily detained him in Europe, the leaſt he could do, in order to defray the expence of the expedition, was to pay the money which Philip III. his father had levied upon the clergy of his dominions, under pretence of a like cruſade, which deſign notwithſtanding was never put in execution. The ſilence of hiſtorians, with regard to this ſecond letter, ſhews plainly enough that it had no ſucceſs.

THE pope's application was not confined to princes in communion with the church of Rome. As in this project of a new league, the deſign was to recover the holy places, which were equally reverenced by all Chriſtians, whether Greek or Latin, and as well of the former as the latter communion [a], he wrote upon that occaſion to Andronicus Paleologus, emperor of Conſtantinople, to John Comnenus, emperor of Trebizunde, and to the kings of Armenia, Iberia and Georgia, though all of them ſchiſmatics, and obſervers of the Greek rites.

THE pope, to raiſe up new enemies againſt the Sarazens, carried his views as far as the remoteſt part of Perſia; and hearing, that a prince deſcended from Genchizcan, called Argon, though a Pagan and an idolater, had yet no averſion to the Chriſtians, he ſent two Franciſcan friars on an embaſſy to him [b], to uſe their endeavours as well for his converſion, as to engage him to fall upon that part of Syria, which adjoins to

[a] Du Cange famil. Byzant. p. 192.

[b] Vadding. p. 3. and 5. Haiton ſeigneur de Churchi, c. 45.

Persia, whilst the Christians attacked Palestine [a]. But the two friars found that prince was dead the year before.

THUS ended all the endeavours of this pope, who, during the siege of St. John d'Acre, would never contribute any thing out of his own treasure for the relief of the besieged. The measures that he took afterwards, and his many embassies, which made a great noise, but had little solidity or significancy in them, were all likewise disconcerted by his death; and the difficulty of uniting so many princes of different religions, or of opposite interests, occasioned the project of a crusade to miscarry under his successor. There was not a prince that engaged in it, and all the western Christians continued in a lamentable indifference for the recovery of the Holy Land. The hospitallers alone had different sentiments, and, in obedience to the grand master's order, had already repaired to Limisso in the isle of Cyprus.

THE grand master soon after called a general chapter. Never since the foundation of the order was there seen an assembly composed of such a number of knights of different countries; the whole order in a manner had transported itself to Cyprus. The grand master appeared in the assembly with a countenance melancholy indeed, but still carrying in it that air of grandeur which virtue gives, and the greatest calamities cannot deject: and, directing his discourse particularly to the knights newly arrived from the west, "Your "diligence, says he to them, in observing our orders, "and the courage that seems to animate you, convince "me, in spite of all our losses, that there are still true "hospitallers in the world capable of repairing them. "Jerusalem, my dear brethren, is fallen; fallen, as "you know, under the tyranny of infidels. A barba- "ous but formidable power has forced us by degrees "to abandon the Holy Land. For more than an age "past we have been obliged to fight as many battles "as we have defended places. St. John d'Acre is a "late witness of our last efforts, and almost all our

knights

"knights lie buried in its ruins. 'Tis for you to ſup-
"ply their places; 'tis from your valour that we ex-
"pect our return into the Holy Land, and you carry
"in your hands the lives, the fortunes, and the liber-
"ty of your brethren, not of the order only, but of
"the vaſt number of Chriſtians that are now groaning
"under the chains of the infidels."

THE ſenior commanders made anſwer, in the aſſembly's name, to this moving diſcourſe, by a generous declaration, that they would ſacrifice their lives to deliver the Holy Land from the tyranny of the barbarians; whilſt, from the eyes of the younger knights, there ſtreamed down floods of tears, warm, as the impatience which inflamed that gallant body of youth, to take vengeance on the Sarazens. But as it was neceſſary, before they entered on a war, to regulate the form of their new ſettlement, the firſt point under conſideration was to fix a place for the reſidence of the order.

THE king of Cyprus had aſſigned them Limiſſo, an antient city, dignified with an epiſcopal ſee, and ſituated on the ſouth coaſt of the iſland: but the Arabian and Sarazen corſairs had demoliſhed it before that time. It was then a large open town, without any defence but a caſtle in the middle of it, which was tolerably well fortified, and provided to oppoſe the landing and deſcents of the corſairs. Some knights, that thought themſelves too much ſtraitned in this place, propoſed to retire to ſome part of Italy; but the grand maſter, and principal perſons of the order, rejected the motion with indignation: they repreſented, that their obligations, and the very deſign of their inſtitution, did not allow them to remove out of the neighbourhood of the Holy Land, and that they ought always to be within reach of improving ſuch opportunities as might offer for making a new attempt there. This ſentiment was received with general applauſe, and it was made a ſort of ſtanding rule and ſtatute of the order for ever. Though the town did not afford lodgings for all the knights, yet the grand maſter's firſt care was to provide

apart-

apartments for the poor and pilgrims; and in a very short time after, they resumed all the functions of hospitality. With regard to the knights and military friars, it was resolved to fit out immediately the ships of the order, which had served to transport the knights from Palestine or Europe to the isle of Cyprus, and to make use of them for convoying pilgrims, who, notwithstanding the loss of Jerusalem, continued still to visit the holy places, as they were used to do before the first crusade, paying the infidels the ordinary tribute, which they demanded at the gates of the city.

IN a short time they had fitted out, in several ports of the island, a considerable number of small vessels of different bulk, which, putting to sea in the usual seasons, i. e. at the latter end of March and August, coasted along Europe, to take up pilgrims; and, out of the same charitable disposition, brought them back again into their own country. Some infidel corsairs, which used to make a common prey of the pilgrims, fell upon these first vessels of the order, but found in those that manned them, a valour and opposition they had never experienced before. Several of these rovers were taken by the hospitallers, who frequently returned to Cyprus with considerable prizes, particularly of the ships belonging to the soldan of Egypt, their declared enemy. These prizes insensibly augmented the number of vessels they put to sea. They built several gallies afterwards, and some ships, so that in a little time considerable squadrons set sail from the ports of Cyprus, and the flag of St. John at last commanded respect all over the Mediterranean.

SUCH was the beginning of the naval armaments of the order of St. John of Jerusalem. The loss of Acre, and their being driven to a retreat in the isle of Cyprus, forced the hospitallers, for the exercise of their courage, to take to the sea; and perhaps the great successes they have since had for the space of four hundred years, and the infinite number of Christians which they have either saved or delivered from an horrid slavery, may be thought to have made the order abundant amends for

for the loſs of ſuch a number of knights as fell in the defence of St. John d'Acre.

MELEC-SERAPH, the ſoldan that had reduced Egypt, incenſed at the prizes which the hoſpitallers took from his ſubjects, and at ſeeing an order revive as it were, which he thought he had entirely deſtroyed, reſolved to purſue the remains of it, and drive them from the iſle of Cyprus. He fitted out a great fleet, with land-forces on board; but civil wars breaking out in his own dominions, he was neceſſarily detained there, and the death of that prince, who was killed in a battle that he loſt againſt the rebels, delivered the hoſpitallers and templars from the danger of a ſiege, in a place that was open on all ſides, and, excepting the caſtle, had no other fortification but the bravery of thoſe knights.

THE grand maſter, to prevent the like deſign from Melec-Nazer, ſucceſſor to Seraph, deſired leave of the king of Cyprus to fortify Limiſſo, and obtained it eaſily from a prince who could part with any thing but his money; and the hoſpitallers laid out what they had in raiſing ſome baſtions of earth towards the ſea. The grand maſter applied himſelf afterwards to reſtore the original diſcipline, which, by the continual exerciſe of arms, by a ſeries of engagements, by cruiſings and plunder, had been very much weakened and impaired.

MOST of the knights, growing rich by the prizes which they took from the infidels, inſtead of paying in the produce, as they ought, to the treaſury of the order, appropriated it to themſelves, and ſpent it generally in luxury. Finding rich ſtuffs among their prizes, they began to dreſs themſelves beyond what was ſuitable to the character of religious. The delicacy of their tables was equal to the richneſs of their cloaths. The expence they were at in horſes anſwered to their other extravagance, and the dangerous air of an iſland, which blind paganiſm had conſecrated to Venus, made unhappy impreſſions on the youth of the order; nay it was ſoon notorious, that ſeveral hoſpitallers had run in debt

to

to support so scandalous an expence. Mean time, another abuse prevailed in the provinces on this side the sea; the priors, during the last wars of the Holy Land, having usurped the prerogative of giving the habit and cross of the order to novices, without making due enquiries into their birth, or sufficiently examining whether they were truly called to it; a practice, which would soon have brought this illustrious order into contempt.

To reform these abuses, two general chapters were held. In the first an order was made, that no
1292. military hospitaller should have more than three great horses for himself, or ride with gold or silver furniture; and, by another statute, the priors were expressly forbid to admit any novice, without a commission from the grand master. But an exception was made with regard to the bailiages of Spain, where the order would have been soon destroyed, if, to supply the continual losses they sustained against the Moors of Granada, they could not have received a new knight till a brief or commission came from the grand master, whose ordinary residence was in so remote a country, and who might frequently be at sea, or engaged in some enterprize against the infidels.

'TWAS in the second general chapter that they made a regulation, which appeared very necessary
1293. with regard to the private debts that the knights left at their death. It was ordered, that they should be discharged out of the sale of their equipage, and if that was not sufficient to pay the whole, the residue should be raised out of the fund which every knight assigned for the service of the order, either at his admission into it, or out of such particular donations as were made him afterwards, the use of which he enjoyed for his life; regulations, all of which suppose the abuses we have now been speaking of, and which they designed to redress by these new statutes.

THIS relaxation in the regular discipline arose partly from the state of the universal church at that time. It had, for above two years before, been without a visible head. The sovereign pontiffs had always kept a vigilant

vigilant eye upon the conduct of the hoſpitallers. During the vacancy of the holy ſee, no notice could be taken of the abuſes which riches introduced into the order. At length the cardinals, who, for twenty-ſeven months together, through an obſtinacy not very edifying, could not agree in the choice of a pope, determined at laſt in favour of a recluſe, called Peter de Mourhon,[a] highly eſteemed for his eminent piety, and who afterwards founded a particular congregation of monks, known by the name of Celeſtines. The cardinals ſent him the inſtrument of his election by Bernault de Gout, archbiſhop of Lyons, accompanied with four other deputies, Cardinal Peter Colonna going likeways of his own voluntary motion along with them. Theſe deputies found the holy monk ſhut up in a little cell, built on the top of a mountain, near the city of Sulmo, in the kingdom of Naples. There was in it a ſmall window with bars before it, from which he talked to all that, drawn by the fame of his virtues, came to conſult him about the ſureſt way of attaining to Chriſtian perfection. Theſe deputies of the conclave ſaw through the grate a venerable old man, about ſeventy-two years old, pale and wan, emaciated by a conſtant courſe of auſterities, his hair ſtaring, his beard long and uncouth, and his eyes ſwoln with the tears that he ſhed continually in his prayers. The archbiſhop of Lyons, preſenting him the inſtrument of his election, told him, that he was choſen unanimously in the conclave to be head of the church, and enjoined him in the name of God, to ſubmit to his vocation, and give his aſſent readily to a choice ſo neceſſary for Chriſtianity, ſince the long vacancy of the holy ſee. The holy man proſtrated himſelf on the ground, and, after continuing a conſiderable time in prayer, he roſe up, and, fearing to oppoſe the will of God, conſented to his election, and was afterwards conſecrated at Aquila, a town of Abruzzo, by the name of Celeſtine V.

THE

[a] Bolland. tom. 15. p. 426 & 427.

THE new pope, as ſoon as he was ſeated in the chair of St. Peter, gave the order of St. John proofs of his vigilancy in regard to their conduct and demeanour. He exhorted them in the warmeſt, and withal in the moſt moving terms, to reflect upon the religious profeſſion they had embraced, and the ſolemn vows they had made at the altar; and, to ſupply them with temporal ſuccours, as well as ſpiritual, the holy pontiff, conſidering that thoſe knights, in defending the Holy Land, had loſt all the effects and poſſeſſions that their order enjoyed there, ſent a bull to the grand maſter, by which, in conſideration of thoſe loſſes and their ſervices, he exempts them for the future from paying their ſhare of certain contributions, which the popes, the college of cardinals, and the legates eſpecially, exacted all over the diſtrict of their legatine authority, in a manner entirely arbitrary, and oftentimes at the expence of the ornaments and ſacred veſſels of the church.

THIS was not the only abuſe that the holy pope had a mind to reform; but he found ſo many obſtacles in his way, and was moreover ſo ſenſible of his own little capacity for government, that he readily gave ear to the ſuggeſtions of ſome cardinals, who, taking advantage of the tenderneſs of his conſcience, exaggerated to him the obligations and dangers of the papal dignity, in hopes of ſucceeding him in it.

IT is even ſaid, that cardinal Cajetan, who aſpired to the popedom, ſpared neither artifices nor impoſtures to perſuade the holy man to abdicate his dignity, and that he ſuborned a raſcal to counterfeit an angel of light, and order him, in the name of God, and under pain of damnation, to return to his cell.

CELESTINE, who was a weak man, took the voice of an impoſtor for that of heaven, and beſides, he choſe rather to return to the private condition of a monk, than continue any longer in a dignity, where he was not allowed to do the good he wiſhed, and hinder the evil he could not bear. In fine, whether it was inſpiration, or diſtaſte for a court where politicks often got the better of the maxims of the goſpel, he propoſed himſelf

himſelf, and made his own abdication [a] in a full conſiſtory, with a magnanimity, of which there had never been an inſtance before, nor perhaps will be hereafter. Cardinal Cajetan, who had taken all poſſible meaſures to facilitate the acceptance of his reſignation, reaped the fruits of it in the next conclave, and, by the help of his cabal, was raiſed to the height of his wiſhes, and inveſted with that eminent dignity. He took the name of Boniface VIII. He was learned in the civil and canon law, an excellent politician, and a conſummate ſtateſman, but of an unmeaſurable ambition, covetous, revengeful and cruel; and, during all the time of his pontificate, was wholly taken up with the chimerical project of uniting the temporal and ſpiritual ſwords, and employing the authority he was inveſted with, which was purely ſpiritual, to acquire, under one pretext or other, a temporal dominion over the territories of all Chriſtian princes; ſuch was his ambition, a paſſion to which his predeceſſor fell the firſt ſacrifice. 1294.

CELESTINE, by his abdication, becoming again brother Peter de Mourhon, flattered himſelf that he had ſhaken off all fetters, and recovered his liberty. The good man was for making no other uſe of it, but to chuſe a deſart where he might paſs the reſt of his days a ſtranger to all the world; but Boniface, for fear ſome new ſcruple ſhould make him revoke his reſignation, ordered him to be apprehended, and, to diſcover the moſt ſecret diſpoſitions of his priſoner, obliged him to come to confeſſion to himſelf. The pious [illegible] declarations, though made with the utmoſt ſincerity,

[a] Ego Cœleſtinus papa quintus, motus ex legitimis cauſis, id eſt, cauſâ humilitatis, melioris vitæ & conſcientiæ illæſæ, debilitate corporis, defectu ſcientiæ, & malignitate populi, & infirmitate perſonæ; & ut præteritæ conſolationis vitæ poſſim reparare quietem, ſponte ac liberè cedo papatui, & expreſsè renuntio loco & dignitati, oneri & honori; dans plenam & liberam facultatem ex nunc ſacro cœtui cardinalium eligendi & providendi duntaxat canonicè univerſali eccleſiæ de paſtore. Boſio, t. 2. l. 1. p. 7. Rainald. num. 23.

were not sufficient to remove his fears; and it is reported, that, to rid himself entirely of this uneasiness, he got him dispatched by ill usage. He shut him up like a criminal in a hideous dungeon, and so very narrow, that there was not room enough to put a sorry bed into it. The barbarous jailors that watched him narrowly, as soon as ever he had closed his eyes to take a little rest, interrupted his sleep, and, by this barbarous device, soon put an end to the poor remainder of his life. The pope, by this inhuman conduct, made himself odious to all good men. There was a sort of prophecy about that time current in the world, in which Celestine, speaking of his successor, and the tricks he had used to arrive at the papacy, is made to say, "Thou "art got upon the throne of St. Peter like a fox; thou "shalt reign like a lion, and die like a dog." But it is very probable, that this prophecy, like abundance of others, was not invented till after the events happened.

HOWEVER this be, Boniface, who fancied himself as much a successor of the Cæsars as of St. Peter, was no sooner seated in his pontifical chair, than he professed a particular affection for the hospitallers and templars. He knew very well, that these two bodies were composed, at least in the main, of gentlemen and brave warriors, and he omitted neither an open and avowed protection, nor favours, nor benefits, to engage them in a stricter adherence to the holy see, and his particular interests.

THE hospitallers of St. John were the first that experienced the effects of his protection. The kings of England and Portugal, after the loss of the Holy Land, pretended that the hospitallers, who had commandries in their territories, had no right to send the revenues thereof abroad, and remit them to the Levant, pretensions of a dangerous example, and which might have terrible consequences, by their influence on other monarchs of Christendom.

THE two kings we are speaking of went so far as to stop this money, and sequestrate it; and, to justify their

their conduct, they gave out, that the commandries of the order, being founded in their dominions by the kings their predeceſſors, or elſe by their ſubjects, only for the defence of the Holy Land, they could not, ſince the loſs thereof, and the conqueſts of the infidels, make a better uſe of the revenues of thoſe great benefices, than by employing them for maintaining the poor of each nation, inſtead of ſending the money to the iſle of Cyprus, where it ſerved only to ſupport the luxury, and feed the pleaſures of the knights of St. John.

THESE reproaches were not perhaps altogether groundleſs with regard to ſeveral particular commanders; but they made no impreſſion at all upon Boniface. That pontiff, who knew no way of treating with crowned heads, but that of haughtineſs, threatened the two princes immediately with the thunders of the church, if they did not revoke their orders. He repreſented to the king, that the hoſpitallers had fixed their reſidence in the iſle of Cyprus, not ſo much for a place of refuge and retreat, as to be within reach whenever an opportunity offered of renewing the war, and recovering the Holy Land; that they diſcharged the obligations of their profeſſion as much in that iſle as in Paleſtine; that they had there an hoſpital open to all the poor, and kept ſhips in their ports, to ſerve for the convoy and ſecurity of pilgrims; and that this military order, from which the church received ſuch ſervices, being under the particular protection of the popes, he was neceſſarily obliged to make uſe of his authority, which he derived from God alone, againſt the uſurpers of revenues dedicated to the defence of Chriſtianity. The menaces of this pontiff proved more effectual than his reaſons, and brought the two kings to a compliance; their orders were revoked, and the ſequeſtration taken off.

THE pope treated Henry de Luſignan, king of Cyprus in a manner ſtill more haughty. That prince, as has been obſerved, had given the hoſpitallers and templars a retreat in his iſland; but fearing they might make themſelves as powerful there as they had been in Paleſtine, he iſſued out a ſolemn edict, forbidding them

to purchaſe any eſtates there; and the pope, in compliance with that monarch, had confirmed this edict by particular bulls. The king of Cyprus had laid upon them a ſort of general poll tax, in which the clergy of this kingdom, and the body of nobility and gentry were comprehended, as well as the common people. The pope was ſoon informed of it; and, as the leaſt pretence imaginable was enough to put that pontiff upon ſtretching his authority, he did not fail to exert himſelf upon this occaſion. He called this tax a downright invaſion of the privileges that the holy ſee had been pleaſed to grant to the military orders, and he wrote to the king of Cyprus, like a ſovereign to his ſubject, in the moſt arrogant and imperious terms.

"WE will, ſays he, and ordain, that the impoſt, "vulgarly called the poll-tax, the very name of which "is horrible and deteſtable, be abſolutely aboliſhed, "and that the king ſhall not impoſe it on his own ſub-"jects, without the permiſſion of the holy ſee; and, "with regard to other taxes and payments, we like-"ways declare the knights hoſpitallers and templars "abſolutely exempted from them." The pope added in his letter, that though the holy ſee had by a bull confirmed the edict, which prohibited thoſe military friars from making any purchaſes, yet the king ought not to take that conceſſion of the holy ſee in a rigorous ſenſe, ſo as to hinder the knights from enlarging the encloſures about their convents, and purchaſing ſuch houſes as adjoined to their principal houſe, and were neceſſary for the lodging of a great order, which, beſides the pilgrims and the poor, always maintained a body of troops to mann their veſſels.

THE king of Cyprus, finding himſelf wounded by the imperious pontiff's letters, in a part the moſt ſenſible of any to princes, and in his ſovereign authority, omitted nothing to make the knights feel the whole weight of his reſentment. He declared publicly, that he would not ſuffer a ſet of men in the heart of his kingdoms, that pretended to be independant of all other authority but that of the pope's. His miniſters there-

thereupon, in contempt of the pontiff's prohibition, compelled the knights to pay their poll-money; and this covetous prince exacted the ſame tribute of the clergy. The nobility and gentry were not exempted from it; and the people, who generally pay more than the other orders of the ſtate, and always firſt, were ſtill worſe treated.

THIS prince, by his greedineſs, raiſed a general diſcontent. The templars, who were naturally proud and haughty, and by the neceſſities of the kings of Jeruſalem, who ſtood in need of their ſuccour, had acquired a ſort of independence, being incenſed againſt Henry, fomented the national diſcontent, which broke out at laſt into an open revolt. Amaury, titular prince of Tyre, and brother to the king, was underhand the encourager of it. This ambitious prince aſpired to the crown; and when, by himſelf and his emiſſaries, he had made ſure of the troops and the inhabitants of the capital, he took off the maſk, put himſelf at the head of the rebels, ſeized on the king's perſon; and, to remove him out of the ſight of the people, who are very ſuſceptible of compaſſion, and naturally inconſtant, he ſent him to Haiton, king of Armenia, whoſe ſiſter he had married; and Haiton confined the unfortunate prince in a caſtle, ſituated among the mountains bordering on Cilicia. Amaury, after this, got the king his brother declared incapable of the government, and was preparing to take the crown, when a valet de chambre of the depoſed king, called Simonet, who always continued faithful to his firſt maſter, though he had entered into the uſurper's ſervice, making uſe of the liberty he was allowed of a free acceſs to his apartment, ſtabbed him in his bed, occaſioning thereby a new revolution, in which king Henry recovered both his liberty and crown. The grand maſter did not engage on any ſide in all theſe commotions, and died a little after the king of Cyprus's return into his dominions.

ODO DE PINS.

THE hoſpitallers choſe in his ſtead Odo de Pins, of the language of Provence, deſcended from an illuſtrious and noble family

in Catalonia,[a] from which likeways the house of Pins in Languedoc, who bear the same arms, pretend to derive their original. Odo de Pins was a knight far advanced in years, exceeding pious, and allowed to be an exact observer of the regular discipline. While he was only a private man, all his brother knights thought him worthy of the grand mastership; but scarce was he arrived at that eminent dignity, but they found he wanted many of the qualifications proper for government, especially in an order, the duties whereof related as much to the exercise of arms, as to prayer and works of charity. He imagined he had discharged all the obligations incumbent upon him, when he had spent whole days in the oratory. Perhaps he might be more devout than was proper in his post; and perhaps too, his knights were less so than their character required. However that be, his excessive fondness for devotion and retirement occasioned, in some measure, a neglect of all kinds of military enterprizes.

THE knights, who, since the loss of their possessions in Palestine, had scarce any subsistence but what they got by cruising, murmured openly at his indifference for any naval preparations. They joined in a body to lay their complaints before the pope, desiring his permission to depose him. Boniface summoned him to Rome, to hear his defence on the subject of the grievances of his knights. Odo, who was better cut out to obey than command, set forward immediately, but died before he could reach the capital of the Christian world. The hospitallers, upon the news of it, chose for his successor brother William de Villaret, of the language of Provence, great prior of St. Giles, and then residing at his priory. This gentleman had a brother that was also a knight at that time, and one of the most distinguished of

WILLIAM DE VILLARET. 1262.

[a] Libro 1. de la coronica de la religion de St. Juan. p. 127. Por. Fray. Dom. Juan. Augustin de Funes en Valencia 1626.

[b] Cosmog. de Belleforest. t. 2. p. 1116.

of the order; and the monaſtery of the nuns of St. John at Fieux in Querci, was governed by Jourdaine de Villaret their ſiſter.

THOUGH the new grand maſter had received an account of his election, he was in no great haſte to ſet out for the iſle of Cyprus, but was reſolved
firſt to viſit in perſon all the priories of the 1298.
languages of Provence, Auvergne and France;
and, by cares ſo becoming his poſt, he reſtored the regular diſcipline to its purity, confirming it afterwards by a chapter, which he called in the commandry of la Tronquiere, a member depending on the great priory of St. Giles. He made ſeveral very uſeful regulations there; and 'twas in this chapter that he put the nunneries of Beaulieu, Martel, and Fieux, which belonged to the lady nuns of the order, under the viſitation of the great prior of St. Giles and his ſucceſſors. The lady ſuperior of Beaulieu is elective and perpetual, takes the title of grand prioreſs, and wears the great croſs.

THE houſe of Belver or Beaulieu was originally only an hoſpital, founded by the lords of the houſe of Themines, about A. D. 1220, between Figeac and Rocamadour, for the relief of the poor and pilgrims, which came that way in their paſſage to the Holy Land. In 1259, a lord of Themines, called Gilbert, and Aigline his wife, gave this houſe to the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, with all the poſſeſſions annexed to it[a]. This donation was accepted in the name of the order, by brother Peter Gerard, commander of the houſes of Quercy, and brother Gerald de Baras, great commander of the houſes on the ſea-ſide, as the deed of gift expreſſes his title, which muſt evidently be underſtood of the firſt dignity of the order, (excepting that of the grand maſterſhip) and ſuch as was annexed to the

[a] THE antient family of Themines paſſed ſucceſſively into thoſe of Cardaillac and de Penne, and afterwards into that of Lauſiere, from whence, about the end of the ſixteenth century, ſprung Pons de Lauſiere Themines, knight of the order of St. Michael and the Holy Ghoſt, marſhal of France, ſeneſchal and governor of the province of Quercy.

the language of Provence preferably to all others. 'Twas in this chapter of la Tronquiere that William de Villaret, then grand maſter, gave the habit and croſs of the order to ſeveral young ladies of quality, who had devoted themſelves in that hoſpital to the ſervice of the poor, and appointed Aigline de Themines, the founder's daughter, for the prioreſs. The grand maſter made this houſe ſubject to the viſitation of the great prior of St. Giles, and eſtabliſhed ſeveral other regulations, which Aigline, and four other ladies, deputed by the convent, and preſent at la Tronquiere, ſubmitted to being afterwards ratified in a particular meeting of their chapter.

WE cannot diſcover the time of the foundation of the houſe of Martel, ſituate in the city of that name, and which for a long time was called the hoſpital of the true croſs. As for another houſe of the order called Fieux, Jourdaine de Villaret, ſiſter to the grand maſter and Fulk de Villaret knight of the order, was the firſt prioreſs of it, as may be ſeen in the catalogue of the ſuperiors of that houſe. But as it has been ſince united to that of Beaulieu, we ſhall ſay nothing farther about it; only obſerving, that in theſe three houſes, as well as in that of Tholouſe, which is of a modern foundation, and in all others of the order, in what country ſoever they are ſituate, the nuns are obliged to be of noble birth, and the ſame proofs are required of them as for the knights.

THEIR habit is a robe of red cloth, with a mantle of black cloth, upon which they wear a croſs of white linen with eight points, a practice which has varied in different provinces, and in different ages, the cauſes of which we ſhall relate in the courſe of this hiſtory[a].

AT the latter end of this century, and during the maſterſhip of William de Villaret, pope Boniface VIII. conſidering the loſs which this military order had ſuffered of all their poſſeſſions in Paleſtine, to enable them the better to carry on the armaments they had ſet on foot,

[a] In. arch. vatic. ex regiſt. Bon. VIII. t. 2. fol. 308.

foot, annexed the famous abbey of the holy trinity of Venuſia, in the kingdom of Naples, to the manſe of the grand maſter. The pope, by his bull of the third year of his pontificate, declares, that he was induced to ſuppreſs the monks of that convent, on account of the irregularity of their manners; and that for a contrary reaſon, he had thought fit to confer it upon the hoſpitallers, who daily expoſed their own lives to defend thoſe of pilgrims, and guard them in their paſſage to the Holy Land. 'Twas almoſt at the ſame time, and out of a like motive, that Henry, marquis of Hochberg, of the houſe of Baden, before he entered into the order of the templars, gave the hoſpitallers his lordſhip of Heitersheim, near Friburg, the reſidence of the great priors of Germany. This grant was confirmed twenty years after by Henry and Rodolph, marquiſſes of Hochberg.

THE grand maſter repaired to Rome to thank the pope for his benefactions; and, after receiving his bleſſing, ſet out for the iſle of Cyprus, and arrived happily at Limiſſo, in the head houſe of the order, and ſeat of its reſidence. He was expected there with impatience, not only becauſe of the opinion they had entertained of his wiſdom and capacity in government, but alſo in hopes that his preſence and application would give new warmth to a ſcheme projected for driving the Sarazens out of the Holy Land.

GAZAN, ſon of Argun beforementioned, cham of the Mogul Tartars, king of Perſia, and a deſcendant or ſucceſſor of Genchizcan, was at [illegible] the head of this league. Pachymerus, a Greek and cotemporary hiſtorian, has given us a character of that prince, which is too great, if it be a juſt one, not to be inſerted here[a]. "When that prince, "ſays the hiſtorian, mounted the throne, he caſt his "eyes upon the hiſtories of Cyrus and Alexander the "great, to take from thence the model of his conduct. "He admired particularly the great qualities of the "vanquiſher of Darius. In his military expeditions he "made

[a] Pachym. l. 2.

" made uſe of the Iberians; and did ſo, ſays this hi-
" ſtorian, as well in regard to the ſincere piety of that
" nation, and their inviolable attachment to the Chri-
" ſtian religion, as for their courage and intrepidity
" in the field. As he knew the croſs was the trophy
" of the Chriſtians, he placed it on the top of his ſtand-
" ards, and 'twas under the protection of this ſign of
" our ſalvation, that he gained glorious victories over
" the ſultan of Egypt. He fell into Paleſtine, and,
" to gratify the Iberians that were in his army, he at-
" tacked the city of Jeruſalem, and was very near de-
" livering the ſepulchre of our Saviour from the tyranny
" of the infidels."

No body that reads this paſſage of the hiſtory of Pachymerus would have any other notion of Gazan but that he was a Chriſtian: yet all the other writers of his nation, Arabians, Perſians, poets and hiſtorians, maintain, that this prince was bred a pagan and idolater *, as moſt of the Tartars were at that time; that he turned Mahometan afterwards, to conform to the religion of the greateſt part of his ſubjects, who were of that profeſſion, and, at the ceremony of his circumſion, took the name of Mahomet. The miſtake of the Chriſtian hiſtorians aroſe probably from hence: The Tartar had married a Chriſtian princeſs of admirable beauty, daughter to Livron or Leo, king of Armenia, and, out of complaiſance to the queen his wife, had allowed her the public exerciſe of her religion in his palace, which might induce the miſſionaries and travellers to believe, that Gazan himſelf was a Chriſtian. Be that as it will, ſome time before, and even antecedent to the misfortunes of Henry king of Cyprus, a league was ſtruck up between the Tartarian prince, the king of Armenia, his father-in-law and neighbour, the king of Cyprus, Amaury de Luſignan his brother, and the two orders of the templars and hoſpitallers, who were conſidered in the eaſt as the principal ſtrength, and only reſource of the Chriſtians.

HAITON

* See the Bibliotheque oriental in the word Gazan.

HAITON, lord of Curchy [b], nephew, or as others ſay, only couſin to the king of Armenia, an eye witneſs of theſe wars, has left us an exact account of them in his hiſtory of Tartary. 'Tis from this author that we learn what advantages theſe allies gained over the Sarazens. They defeated Nazer ſultan of Egypt, took the famous city of Damaſcus, and afterwards reduced the greateſt part of Syria. The hoſpitallers, who had no other view in this league but to chaſe the infidels out of the Holy Land, entered Paleſtine without oppoſition, at the head of a body of cavalry, which Gazan gave them for a reinforcement. They found the country open and defenceleſs; the cities, if they were not rather to be called villages, without any fortifications; Jeruſalem deſtitute of walls, as well as Chriſtian inhabitants; no body appearing to oppoſe their conqueſts. But that which facilitated theſe conqueſts made it afterwards impoſſible to maintain them. The Sarazens, after the taking of St. John d'Acre, had raſed the fortifications of all the towns in Paleſtine, ſo that the kingdom was only a large country, expoſed to the ſtrongeſt power, and every force that was maſter of the field.

THE hoſpitallers, infinitely pleaſed with having made their way to the holy city, thought of rebuilding the walls, in order to maintain themſelves there. But the cham of Tartary, being obliged to repaſs the Euphrates and return into Perſia, to march againſt a body of rebels, that had made an inſurrection in his abſence, that prince recalled out of Paleſtine the troops which he had lent the hoſpitallers; and, after their retreat, there was no poſſibility, with the ſingle forces of the order, to keep the field againſt the armies of the Sarazens.

ACCORDINGLY the ſoldan, after the Tartars were drawn off, fell again into Paleſtine; and, upon the news of his march, and that he was advancing with a mighty body of troops towards Jeruſalem, the hoſpitallers, who had

[b] Chap. 43.

had entered like conquerors, were forced to quit it in a manner like pilgrims.

GAZAN, in the mean time, having quickly pacified the troubles that had riſen in Perſia during his abſence, reſumed his firſt deſigns againſt the ſoldan of Egypt. The politic Tartar had no other view in re-eſtabliſhing the Latin Chriſtians in Paleſtine, but to make uſe of them afterwards for a barrier, to hinder the Sarazens of Egypt from having any communication with Syria. But having diſcovered by the former campaign how inconſiderable a force the kings of Armenia and Cyprus were able to bring into the field, and being ſenſible, that the military orders could not of themſelves make head againſt the ſoldan's power, he was fully convinced, that, to drive the Sarazens both out of Syria and Paleſtine, and to enable the Chriſtians to maintain themſelves in the latter, it was neceſſary to engage the princes of the Weſt in this war, and bring ſome cruſade into the Levant, like the firſt of Godfrey de Bouillon, which had driven them out of the Holy Land. 1301.

THIS was the motive of a noted embaſſy, which he ſent to pope Boniface VIII. and which afterwards proceeded on to France. There are ſome hiſtorians indeed, that aſcribe this negotiation to Mahomet Gayateddin, otherwiſe called Algiaptou, brother and ſucceſſor to Gazan. The Perſians, in their tongue, call this latter Chodabenda, i. e. the ſervant of God: Haiton the hiſtorian names him Carbaganda, and ſays that his mother was a Chriſtian, and that he was baptiſed and named Nicholas; but that after his mother's death, he turned Muſſulman. But whoever was the author of this embaſſy, the perſon deputed upon that occaſion, arriving at Rome, deſired the pope in the cham his maſter's name, to engage the moſt powerful princes of his communion, to join part of their troops to the armies he had on foot, in order to drive the Sarazens out of Syria and Paleſtine, offering to leave the Latin Chriſtians the entire poſſeſſion of the Holy Land.

THE

THE embaſſador[a], to make his propoſals go down the readier, politicly inſinuated, that the cham his maſter was no way averſe to embracing the Chriſtian religion[b]; an artifice perhaps new at that time, and too ſtale at this; but which ſerves at leaſt for a proof, that this prince was either a Pagan or Mahometan.

UNLUCKILY for the ſucceſs of ſo great an enterpriſe, the pope was then in the violenteſt fits of his implacable hatred to Philip the Fair, king of France, whom in reproach he compared to the idol of Bel, or Baal, by a ridiculous ſenſeleſs alluſion that his groſs ignorance of that Phœnician word betrayed him into. The ground of this hatred was Philip's openly refuſing to ſubmit to that abſolute and deſpotic power, which Boniface claimed over all Chriſtian ſtates. He owned indeed, that ſovereigns within their own dominions were ſupreme in temporals; but there he pretended a right of taking cogniſance of the differences that aroſe between them, under pretence, as he ſaid, that it behoved him to know, if they could in certain junctures and circumſtances make war without ſin. In virtue of this cavilling diſtinction, the new caſuiſt was for drawing to his own tribunal the cogniſance and abſolute deciſion of all their differences, and he threatened ſuch as refuſed to ſubmit to it, to excommunicate them, to lay an interdict on their dominions, and abſolve their ſubjects from their oath of fidelity. 'Twas the ſhorteſt way of attaining to an univerſal monarchy; but unluckily for the ſucceſs of theſe pretenſions, the pontiff, in the perſon of Philip the Fair, had to do with a powerful prince, haughty and imperious in his nature, infinitely jealous of the rights of his crown, rightly appriſed of thoſe of the pope's, and who at the ſame time

[a] Spicil. t. 11. p. 609.

[b] Pariſiis ipſa hebdomada Paſchæ venerunt ad regem Franciæ nuncii Tartarorum, dicentes, quod ſi rex & barones gentes ſuos in Terræ Sanctæ ſubſidium deſtinarent, eorum dominus Tartarorum rex Saracenos totis viribus expugnaret, et tam ipſe quam populus ſuus efficeretur libenti animo Chriſtiani. Contin. chron. de Nangis ad ann. 1303.

that he denied them nothing that was due to the visible head of the church, did yet maintain with an invincible firmness, that those pontiffs, with regard to Christian monarchs, had no authority but what was purely spiritual, that this very authority was barely ministerial, and that they ought to govern the church of Christ according to the canons of general councils.

BONIFACE, enraged to meet with such an obstacle to the establishment of his chimerical project, had raised up enemies on all sides against France, and even against the person of the king. 'Tis to this pontiff, that the revolt of the Flemings, and the English war is ascribed. And whilst these open enemies were attacking the frontiers of the kingdom, the sovereign pontiff left no methods untried to raise seditions within it, and debauch the secular and regular clergy from the obedience they owed their sovereign.

SUCH was the disposition of Boniface, when the cham of Tartary's embassador arrived at Rome. The imperious pontiff eagerly catched at this pretence of signalizing his pretended power over the person of the king and his subjects.

IN the first crusades, the popes, with regard to sovereigns, never made use of any means but those of intreaty and exhortation. But afterwards, and as opportunities offered, to get rid of princes whose power they were jealous of, they engaged them in those expeditions by motives of penance, and sometimes on pain of excommunication. Thus by menacing them with the censures of the church, they had created a sort of right in the papacy to send the greatest monarchs into the east in a state of exile, tho' still under the pretext of delivering the Holy Land out of the hands of the infidels. 'Twas with such views, that Boniface dispatched the bishop of Pamiers to the king. That prelate, who was animated with the spirit and haughtiness of his master, delivered his message to Philip, not so much like an embassador and messenger of peace, as a herald sent to declare war against him.

HE

HE told him, that it was the pope's intention, he ſhould croſs the ſea immediately at the head of all the forces of France, and join his troops with thoſe of the king of Perſia, to drive the Sarazens out of Syria and Paleſtine. Boniface, under colour of this pious motive, had no deſign but to get the king at a diſtance from his own dominions, in hopes of eſtabliſhing his pretended temporal power there in his abſence. But beſides that the haughtineſs and inſolence of his nuncio, tho' a Frenchman, was of itſelf abundantly ſufficient to make the pope's propoſals be rejected, that pontiff had to do with a prince infinitely jealous, as we have ſaid, of the ſovereign rights of his crown, who underſtood his true intereſts perfectly well, naturally frugal, and indeed ſo graſping at money, that his memory has been reproached for not always confining himſelf to juſt meaſures for raiſing it. Far therefore from being diſpoſed to put himſelf to the neceſſary expences for ſo tedious an expedition, it was pretended, that he wanted even ſupplies to maintain the wars that the pope had ſecretly ſtirred up againſt him.

THERE did not likewiſe want ſuſpicions, that Boniface had a deſign of making war upon France. Reports went current about, that the templars had offered their ſervices to that pontiff, and had alſo furniſhed him with conſiderable ſums to begin the war; ſo that Philip, inſtead of entertaining a thought of quitting his dominions in ſuch a juncture, ordered the pope's nuncio away, who had ſpoken to him with ſo much haughtineſs and inſolence; and, by his diſmiſſion, the cham's embaſſador, who was come on purpoſe to France, ſaw his negotiation miſcarry.

'TWAS a very ſenſible affliction to the hoſpitallers to hear of the ill ſucceſs of this embaſſy. They ſaw their hopes of recovering the Holy Land farther off than ever. Beſides, they had but a very indifferent ſituation in the iſle of Cyprus, conſidering the temper of the king, a covetous and jealous prince, who was for impoſing taxes upon them, as we have ſaid, though they had never paid any tribute under the kings of Jeruſalem, but that

of their blood, which they daily ſhed ſo generouſly in defence of the Chriſtians.

THE ſurprizing death of Boniface, who died through grief, that he was fallen under the power, and
1303. into the hands of the French, gave the hoſpitallers ſome hopes of ſeeing in a ſhort time a more religious pope, who, inſtead of ſowing, and keeping up diviſions among Chriſtian princes, as Boniface did, would on the contrary employ all the intereſt that his dignity gave him, to diſpoſe them to unite together and form a new cruſade.

ACCORDINGLY the cardinals, eleven days after Boniface's deceaſe, choſe in his ſtead Nicholas Bocaſſini, a dominican, cardinal and biſhop of Oſtia, a prelate of a holy life, and profound learning. He took the name of Benedict XI. and as ſoon as he was ſeated in the holy ſee, he expreſſed a great deal of eagerneſs to procure powerful ſuccours, and a conſiderable armament to be ſent into the eaſt. But theſe pious diſpoſitions were attended with no effects, by reaſon of the pope's death, who was only eight days on the throne of St. Peter.

THE conclave met at Perugia, where it continued near a year; and there was reaſon to fear it would not end ſo ſoon, becauſe of the miſunderſtanding between the cardinals, who were divided into two factions, and had determined never to conſent to the election of any perſon that was then in the conclave. Cardinal Francis Cajetan, nephew to Boniface, and inheritor of his hatred againſt Philip the Fair, and the two cardinal Colonna's, who were partiſans of France, was at the head of one of the factions. The other party, which was devoted to the king, was headed by cardinal Dupré, an intimate friend of the two cardinal Colonna's, whom Boniface, during his pontificate, had, out of averſion to France, cruelly perſecuted as well as all their houſe.

THE cardinals that were ſhut up in the conclave, aſſembled every day, conferred together ſometimes in public and ſometimes in private, and the moſt artful among them

them endeavoured to gain over ſome votes in the contrary faction.

CARDINAL Dupré, who was excellent at theſe weapons, and a moſt refined politician, addreſſing himſelf one day to cardinal Cajetan, "We do a great "deal of miſchief, ſays he to him, with all the ap"pearance of frankneſs, and cauſe an infinite pre"judice to the church, by keeping it ſo long deſtitute "of a head:" adding, that, ſince they could not agree about a cardinal to be made pope, they muſt neceſſarily chuſe ſome perſon, tho' not of the conclave, that was worthy of being advanced to that great dignity: and that, to facilitate the election, he was of opinion, that one of the factions ſhould nominate any three archbiſhops that they pleaſed beyond the mountains, and the other faction ſhould have the right of chuſing within forty days whomſoever they liked beſt of the three for pope. Cajetan replied, that there was no equality in this propoſal, and that every body muſt ſee plainly, that the faction which ſhould name the three candidates, had vaſtly the advantage, ſince by their nomination, they were ſure of having one of their creatures for pope. Cardinal Dupré owned it, but added, that to ſhew how ſincerely he and the cardinals of his party wiſhed to have an end put to the ſcandal which their diviſions cauſed in the church, they were ready to give up that advantage to the cardinals of the other faction; that thoſe of his party would freely conſent they ſhould have the naming of the three candidates, out of whom the pope was to be choſen; and that for their own parts they would only reſerve to themſelves the right of chuſing out of three of their creatures, the perſon they thought the moſt deſerving, and him that was leaſt diſagreeable to them.

BONIFACE's nephew communicated this propoſal to his faction, aſcribing it to the impatience which Dupré and the old cardinals had to get out of the conclave;

[a] Jo. Villani lib. 8. c. 8. S. Antonin. p. 3. t. 21. Bern. Chron. Rer. Pont. Rain. t. 15. Contin. ann. Eccl.

clave: and having brought the cardinals of his party in to approve of it, a formal treaty was drawn up and signed by all the cardinals; in consequence of which, Cajetan named three Ultramontain archbishops, all creatures of his uncle, and who, during that pope's pontificate, had espoused his interest against the king. The first of the three was Bertrand de Got, archbishop of Bourdeaux, a prelate of a noble house in Aquitain, but wedded to his pleasures, and eaten up with ambition, an intimate friend and entire confident of Cajetan's, and a subject of the king of England's, who was then duke of Aquitain. Besides, this prelate was an enemy to Philip the Fair, and particulary so to Charles de Valois, that prince's brother, who, during the wars between the French and English, had ravaged the castles and lands of his brother and nearest relations. Yet this was the prelate upon whom cardinal Dupré fixed his eyes to make him pope. He knew him thoroughly, and made no question but a man of his character, would easily sacrifice his old friends and first benefactors to his promotion. He was likewise of opinion, that it would be no difficult matter, whilst Italy was infested with the factions and wars between the Guelphs and Gibbelines, to keep a man of his ambition and vanity in France, who would be charmed with shewing himself to his relations and countrymen in that height of power, to which the papal diadem was going to raise him. Cardinal Dupré communicated these views of his to Philip the Fair, by an express which he dispatched to him with great secrecy, and which went from Perugia to Paris in eleven days. He sent that prince the treaty between the two factions, and observed to him in his letter, that he had nothing to do but to make sure of the archbishop of Bourdeaux, who, to get at the papacy, would easily submit to all the conditions he should require of him.

THE king having perused these dispatches, and the treaty between the cardinals, saw plainly what advantages were to be drawn from it. He wrote immediately to the archbishop of Bourdeaux, that he had some affairs

fairs of conſequence, in which he was particularly concerned, to communicate to him. He fixed at the ſame time a certain day on which he appointed him to repair to an abbay ſeated in the middle of a foreſt near St. John d'Angeli, promiſing to be there himſelf without fail, and enjoined him above all things a profound ſecrecy on this head.

BOTH were punctual to the appointment. They came to an interview in the morning in the church of the abbay. Philip, after hearing maſs, required the archbiſhop to put his hand upon the altar, and ſwear to keep the ſecret he was going to confide to him inviolably. After this precaution, he told him, that it was in his power to make him pope; and, to convince him of it, he ſhewed him the treaty made at Perugia between the cardinals, with the paſſage in Dupré's letter, where that cardinal, in his own name, and in the name of the cardinals of the French faction, refers it to the king to chuſe which of the three archbiſhops he thought moſt worthy of the papacy.

THE archbiſhop of Bourdeaux read theſe inſtruments with great aſtoniſhment; and, when he had ended, threw himſelf at the king's feet, and embraced them with a tranſport eaſier to be imagined than expreſſed, asked pardon of him for his paſt conduct, "I ſee "well, ſir, ſays he to him, that you are for rendering "me good for evil; if I am happy enough to be ad"vanced to the popedom, I beg of you to be aſſured "that you ſhall ſhare all the authority of it with me, "and I am ready to give you all the aſſurances of it "that you can demand for ſo great a kindneſs."

THE king raiſed him up graciouſly, and having embraced him in token of a perfect reconciliation, told him, that when he ſhould be upon the throne of St. Peter, he deſired, that he would grant him ſix favours, all of them juſt, and tending only to the good of the church and his kingdom, but he would be aſſured of them before he entered into any more particular engagements with him. The firſt two conditions which that prince propoſed related only to the differences between

tween him and pope Boniface, inſiſting, that he ſhould annul all the acts of that pope againſt himſelf, the cardinals Colona, and his principal ſubjects. He required for the third condition, that he ſhould promiſe him to condemn the memory of Boniface, and order his bones to be burnt, as uſed to be done with thoſe of atheiſts and hereticks. The fourth article was concerning the affair of the cardinals Colonna, whom Boniface had degraded for their adherence to France; the king required that they ſhould be re-inſtated in their former dignities, and entire reſtitution made to them of all their effects and poſſeſſions. Philip demanded, as the fifth condition, that he might have leave to raiſe the tenths upon the clergy of France for five years together. The ſixth condition was not to be declared till after the ceremony of the future pope's coronation ſhould be over. "But I will have you, ſays the king, "for a further aſſurance of your promiſes, take a ſo- "lemn oath upon the holy ſacrament, and give me "your brother and two nephews in hoſtage, whom I "will take with me to Paris, under pretence of re- "conciling them to the count de Valois, my brother, "and keep them there till you have fully made good "your word. 'Tis now for you, adds the king, to ſee "if you like the conditions."

THE ambitious prelate, drunk with joy and hope, promiſed every thing, and ſwore ſolemnly on the holy ſacrament to perform the conditions required. He ſent at the ſame time for his brother and nephews, and delivered them into the king's hands. That prince diſpatched away immediately an expreſs to cardinal Duprat and thoſe of his faction, with advice, that he had taken all the neceſſary ſecurities from the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux for his own intereſt and thoſe of the houſe of Colonna; that he was actually bringing along with him to Paris the brother and two nephews of the archbiſhop, that they might, without any further delay, chuſe him for pope. The king and that prelate parted equally ſatisfied with one another, and his majeſty's expreſs arrived at Perugia five days before the term agreed

on

on by the treaty was expired. Cardinal Dupré, apprized of the king's intentions, communicated them to the other cardinals of the French party, who thereupon notified it to thoſe of the contrary faction, that they were ready to execute their promiſe, and chuſe one of the three archbiſhops propoſed for pope. Upon this notice, a ſolemn aſſembly was held in the chapel of the conclave: it was opened with the invocation of the Holy Ghoſt, after which they ratified a-new the treaty for the election. Then cardinal Dupré named Bertrand de Got, archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, for the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, which was followed with the acclamations of the whole ſacred college, eſpecially of the nephew and creatures of Boniface, who knew nothing of what had paſſed between the king and archbiſhop, and flattered themſelves with having a pope of their own party, and an enemy to the king.

BUT that prelate had no ſooner received the decree of his election, than, in the tranſports of his joy, on occaſion of a good fortune ſo much above his hopes, he let ſlip a word which betrayed the ſecret of his reconciliation with the king of France. This was no longer doubted of, when they ſaw him ſummon the whole college of cardinals to meet at Lyons, for the ceremony of his coronation, which Philip honoured with his preſence.

'TWAS after this great ceremony, that his majeſty is ſaid to have opened himſelf to the pope, upon the ſixth condition that he had required of him at their interview, and which he was not to know till his coronation was over. The pontiff was ſtrangely ſurpriſed to find that this condition contained the ſuppreſſion and extinction of the whole order of the templars. The king, to ſupport the juſtice of his demand, told him, that they were guilty of the moſt abominable crimes, and that he had good proofs of it. Clement, to make good his engagements, aſſured him, that he would apply himſelf to procure private informations to be taken on that ſubject, and deſired Philip, on his part, to com-

communicate to him what proofs he had againſt thoſe knights.

THE new pontiff, after his coronation, declared, that, as long as the two factions of the Guelphs and Gibelines continued to tear Italy to pieces, he would take up his reſidence in France, and, in conſequence of this declaration, ſet out for Bourdeaux, paſſing through Macon, Brives, Bourges and Limoges. The continuator of Nangis, in his account of the year 1305, relates, that in croſſing theſe dioceſes, he plundered, either by himſelf or his followers, all the churches and incumbents that he met with in his paſſage, ſo that the archbiſhop of Bourges, for his daily ſubſiſtence, was reduced to the neceſſity of aſſiſting at all the offices of the quire, as a ſimple canon, to be entitled to a ſhare in their daily dividends*.

IT was not long before the Italian cardinals repented that they had placed a French prelate, ſo greedy of money, upon the papal throne. They were ſenſible, that if it continued any conſiderable time in France, they ſhould have no great ſhare in the government, nor conſequently in the treaſures of the church. Cardinal Mattheo Roſſo Urſini, an Italian, and an enemy to the French, vexed to ſee himſelf over-reached by cardinal Dupré, and meeting one day in the pope's antichamber, "You have carried your point, ſays he with a ſneer, "and we are tranſplanted to t'other ſide the mountains; "and I either do not know the character of the Gaſ- "cons, or I ſhall be much miſtaken if we ſee the ho- "ly ſee again at Rome this long time."

THAT capital of the Chriſtian world, formerly the miſtreſs and queen of nations, loſt, by the removal of the

* Papa Clemens, circa purificationem beatæ Mariæ à Lugduno recedens, Burdegalis per Matiſconem, Brivatum, Biturigas,------ & Lemovicas iter faciens, tam religioſorum quàm ſæcularium eccleſias & monaſteria, tam per ſe quàm per ſuos ſatellites, deprædando, multa & gravia intulit eis damna, & frater Ægidius, Biturienſis, archiepiſcopus per hujuſmodi deprædationes ad tantam devenit inopiam, quod, tanquam unus de ſuis ſimplicibus canonicis, ad percipiendum quotidianas diſtributiones pro victu neceſſariis horas eccleſiaſticas frequentare coactus ſit.

the court of Rome, the little it had left of the luſtre of its antient empire. All the Italians made heavy lamentations for this tranſlation, which, on account of the time it laſted, they have generally compared to the captivity of Babylon. Some hiſtorians have not ſcrupled to aſcribe it to the pope's paſſion for the counteſs of Perigord, daughter to the count de Foix, a princeſs of ſingular beauty, and from whom, it is probable, he could not part without pain[a]. The ſame authors accuſe him of a ſcandalous traffick in holy things, to gratify his avarice[b].

PERHAPS the reader may think we have given too large a detail of the intrigues of this conclave; but, conſidering the facts which follow, we thought ourſelves neceſſarily obliged to repreſent the character of this pope, and relate the ſecret cauſes of the complaiſance he ſhewed afterwards for moſt of the deſigns of Philip the Fair, with regard to the templars, as well as the hoſpitallers of St. John.

THE new pontiff, deſirous to ſignalize his zeal by ſome enterpriſe that would make a noiſe, and ſuit the taſte of the age, propoſed to ſend a new cruſade into the eaſt for the recovery of the Holy Land. With this view, and to be juſtly informed of the forces of the infidels, perhaps alſo to inquire into the accuſations brought by the king of France againſt the templars, he ſent an order to the two grand maſters to come immediately

[a] Hiſt. de M. l'Abbé Fleuri. l. 92. p. 239.

[b] Queſto papa fue huomo molto cupido di moneta, e ſimoniaco, che ogni beneficio per moneta in ſua corte ſi vendea, e fue luſurioſo. Si dicea che tenea per amica la conteſſa di Paragordo, belliſſima donna, figliuo la del conte di Foy. Giovan. Villani lib. 9. chap. 58.

Papa, ut chronicæ referunt, fuit nimis cupiditatibus deditus; propter quod ſcelus ſimoniæ, maximè a canonibus deteſtatum & punitum, multum viguit in curia ſua circa beneficia. Quod autem quidam dicunt in papam non poſſe cadere ſimoniam; beatus Thomas hos reprobat: inſuper & minùs honeſtæ vitæ fuit, & communiter dicebatur, cum quadam comitiſſa, pulcherrima muliere, contubernium habere. Sanctus Antoninus Flor. archiep. de concilio Viennenſi tit. 21. ſect. 3.

mediately to him, with the principal knights of both orders.

"THE kings of Cyprus and Armenia*, (says he, in "his letter to the grand master of the hospitallers,) "solicit us earnestly to procure them some succour. "We have therefore resolved to consult about it with "you, and the master of the temple, since, by the "knowledge you have of the country, you are much "better qualified than any others to advise us, in "regard to the conduct and management of such an "enterprize; besides, that next to the church of Rome, "no one has a greater interest than you in the success "of it. We order you therefore to come hither speedi-"ly, with as much secrecy as possible, and with a very "little retinue, since you will find, on this side the "sea, a sufficient number of your knights to attend "you. But be careful to leave in the isle of Cyprus a "good lieutenant, and a body of knights, capable of "defending the city of your residence, that so your "absence, which will not be long, may be of no pre-"judice to the affairs of your order: Nevertheless, "do not neglect to bring along with you some knights, "who, by their wisdom, experience and zeal, are "qualified to give us proper advice, in conjunction "with you." This letter is dated from Bourdeaux, June 6, 1306.

THE grand master of the hospitallers was at sea, when this letter was sent him from the isle 1306. of Cyprus, whither it was directed. He wrote back immediately to the pope to excuse himself, that he did not make so much haste in his voyage as his holiness seemed to recommend, being actually engaged in an enterprise which he had formed. The hospitallers, being tired out with the ill treatment they received from the king of Cyprus, and the oppression of his government; and seeing themselves cooped up as it were in a town, without the convenience of a port for their naval armaments, came to a resolution to abandon so improper an abode, designing to make themselves

* Rain. t. 15.

ſelves maſters of ſome iſland in the neighbourhood of the Holy Land, where the order, without being accountable to any but their own ſuperiors, might go to ſea, and diſcharge the obligations and duties of their ſtation.

THE grand maſter, whoſe thoughts were entirely taken up with this great deſign, which he kept very ſecret, fixed his eyes upon Rhodes, an iſland at a ſmall diſtance from Paleſtine, and accommodated with an excellent port. This iſland, a member of Conſtantinople, ſuffered, like moſt of thoſe of the Archipelago, in the revolution that happened in that capital, by the conqueſt which the French and Venetians made of it. The Genoeſe, for their part, had ſeized on moſt of the Cyclades and Sporades; and Rhodes, and the little iſles depending on it, alſo fell into the hands of thoſe republicans, during the abſence of their governor, a Greek lord, called John de Gabales. Vatacius, whom we have ſpoken of already, and who, in the diſmembering of the empire, had erected one for himſelf, of which Nice was the capital, vexed to ſee the Latin princes pare off every day ſome morſel or other from the Greek empire, ſent in A. D. 1249, John Cantacuzenus, his great cupbearer, with a ſtrong fleet to drive the Genoeſe out of the iſle of Rhodes. That Greek general arrived off the iſland, and landed his troops without oppoſition: but by great good luck for the Genoeſe, William de Villehardouin, a French lord, and prince of Achaia, and Hugh, a prince of the houſe of Burgundy, were paſſing at that time by Rhodes, in order to join St. Louis in the iſle of Cyprus, and left the Genoeſe a body of troops, which helped them to drive out the Greeks. Vatacius, the moſt politic prince of his time, to make his advantage afterwards of the conſternation the Latins were in at the captivity of St. Louis, the head of the cruſade, ſent Theodorus Protoſebaſtus to Rhodes, who retook the iſland from the Genoeſe. The Greeks re-eſtabliſhed their authority there; but the empire being on the decline, ſome lords of the houſe of Gualla, governors of Rhodes, inſenſibly ſet up for princes of the

iſle; and, to fortify themſelves againſt their ſovereign, they peopled it with a great number of Turkiſh and Sarazen merchants and inhabitants. 'Tis ſaid likeways, that they admitted the infidel corſairs into their ports, who were likeways ſure to find refuge there, when they were purſued by the gallies of the hoſpitallers, or by the ſhips of other Chriſtian princes.

THE grand maſter, after coaſting the iſle of Rhodes, obſerving its ports and fortreſſes, and appriſing himſelf of the number of its inhabitants, did not find that he had forces ſufficient to attempt the conqueſt of it. Then he took a view of ſeveral ſmall adjacent iſlands, which, though inhabited, are ſcarce any thing but rocks. But finding no fortified places in them, wherein he could maintain his ground, and fearing, that if he made an attempt on any of theſe little iſlands, it would diſcover his deſign upon Rhodes, he ſtood away for the iſle of Cyprus, and returned to Limiſſo. After this expedition, he was preparing to go and give the pope an account of the project he had in view, and to try if he could obtain from that pontiff, and the weſtern princes, the neceſſary ſuccours for ſuch an enterpriſe; but he was ſtopped by an illneſs, which at laſt brought him to his grave.

ALL the knights were ſenſibly afflicted at the loſs of the grand maſter, eſpecially in a juncture ſo important to the order. The chapter being perſuaded that Fulk de Villaret, his brother, was acquainted with all the particulars of his ſecret deſigns and was well qualified by his valour, to put them in execution with ſucceſs, thought proper to appoint him for his ſucceſſor. This grand maſter, as ſoon as he was inveſted with that dignity, went on board the gallies of his order, and paſſed into France, to confer with the pope and the king about the enterpriſe of Rhodes, the deſign of which the late grand maſter had communicated to him. It was now above a year ſince James de Moley, of an illuſtrious family in the county of Burgundy, and the grand maſter of the order of templars, had,

FULK DE VILLARET.

had, in obedience to the pope's orders, repaired to the town of Poitiers, where the court of Rome then was. The grand maſter was attended with moſt of his knights, who, tired out, like the hoſpitallers, with the oppreſſions and exactions which the king of Cyprus and his miniſters were continually laying upon them, had at laſt abandoned the iſle. They diſperſed themſelves afterwards into ſeveral countries of Chriſtendom, where they had a great number of rich commandries, and no body was left in the iſle of Cyprus but the great marſhal of the order, and ſome commanders. The grand maſter is ſaid to have brought prodigious treaſures from the Levant, which he laid up afterwards in the houſe of the temple at Paris.

THAT lord, upon his arrival in France, kept the principal knights of his order with him; and, thus attended, he waited upon the pope. They were all well received, the pontiff giving not the leaſt hint of the ſecret motive that had induced him to ſend for them into France. He ſeemed even pleaſed with the turn and capacity of the grand maſter, diſcourſing with him frequently upon the ſubject of a cruſade, which he pretended he would publiſh without loſs of time. He carried his diſſimulation ſo far as to deliver him a memorial, requiring him, at his leiſure, to draw up an exact anſwer to it.

IN this memorial, the pope, ſtill ſuppoſing the project of a cruſade, demanded of him, what aſſiſtance the Latins might expect from the king of the leſſer Armenia; what were the ports, the roads, and the coaſts of Paleſtine, where the forces of the cruſade might land with moſt convenience; and whether the troops ſhould be ſent from Europe in the great or the little paſſage, i. e. in the months of May or September, the ordinary ſeaſons in which the caravans of pilgrims ſet out for the Holy Land. Theſe embarkations being called great or little paſſages, according to the number of veſſels and troops that were ſent to the Levant.

THE pope, in a ſeparate memorial, added, that the diſſention, which was too often breaking out afreſh

between the templers and hoſpitallers, having contributed not a little to the loſs of the Holy Land, he had been adviſed, for the common good of both orders, and the general edification of the faithful, to incorporate the templars and hoſpitallers for ever, under one and the ſame rule, habit, and grand maſter. The ſovereign pontiff ordered him to give him his ſentiments freely and ſincerely on this head. The pope, perhaps, by ſuch an union of the templars with the hoſpitallers, whoſe reputation was untouched, would not have been ſorry to ſave the templars from the king of France's inſtances for the extinction of that order.

HISTORY has conveyed down to us the anſwer which the grand maſter of the templars made to theſe two memorials of the pope. He ſays, in the firſt place, that in a battle, or deciſive action, there was no depending on the Armenians, who were much more diſpoſed to turn their backs, than ſtand their ground in an engagement; and if they bounded the ſuccour they were for ſending into the Eaſt, meerly to the defence of the leſſer Armenia, without attempting any farther conqueſt, his holineſs ought to made be ſenſible, that the Armenians, being ſchiſmaticks, and enemies to all the Latin Chriſtians, would never admit them into their caſtles and ſtrong places, though they were come into the Eaſt only for their aſſiſtance; and that the troops of the cruſade, being thereby forced to keep the field, would be frequently ſurpriſed and maſſacred by the Turcomans and Bedouins that lived on the mountains bordering on Armenia, from whence they were continually making incurſions into the flat country.

FOR theſe reaſons, and many more, which are repreſented at large in this memorial, the grand maſter ſhews the inſignificancy of the little paſſage, and a weak ſuccour, which would ſerve, ſays he, only to deſtroy ſuch as compoſed it, and render the Latin Chriſtians contemptible. He concludes, that, to flatter themſelves with the hopes of good ſucceſs, it was neceſſary to omit nothing that could be ſerviceable for making the paſſage as numerous and powerful as poſſible.

WITH

WITH this view he preſſes the pope to communicate his memorial to the kings of France, England, Germany, Sicily, Arragon, Caſtile[a], and all other ſovereign princes of Chriſtendom, whoſe hearts, ſays he, may God Almighty touch with his grace, and inſpire them to drive the infidels out of a land dyed with the adorable blood of Jeſus Chriſt.

HE propoſes in the next place to engage the Genoeſe, the Veſetians, and other maritime powers, who had ports in the Mediterranean, to furniſh the gallies and ſhips neceſſary for the great paſſage, and for tranſporting the troops of the cruſade. He repreſents likeways, that the Chriſtians not being maſters of a foot of ground in the kingdom of Jeruſalem, or in the principality of Antioch, if they pretended to drive out the infidels, their army ought to conſiſt at leaſt of 15,000 men of arms, and 5000 foot.

WITH regard to their landing, he adviſes, that the Chriſtian army ſhould, for refreſhment, put firſt into the iſle of Cyprus, from whence they might eaſily paſs afterwards into Paleſtine. But as to the coaſt and place of the kingdom, where it was proper to make their deſcent, he deſires the pope to excuſe him from putting his opinion in writing, and allow him to explain himſelf on that head by word of mouth, either to him or to the king of France, for fear, that a deſign of ſuch importance, and a point on which the whole ſucceſs of the cruſade depended, might come to be diſcovered, and conſequently traverſed by the infidels.

HE intimates, that it would be very proper to ſend ten gallies in the ſpring towards the iſle of Cyprus, to cruize at ſea, and intercept the ſhips of ſome Chriſtian merchants, who, preferring a ſordid gain to the intereſts of religion, held criminal correſpondences with the Sarazens, and carried them, in contempt of the prohibitions of the church, arms and timber ready worked and fitted, ſo that, for making their gallies,

[a] Philip the Fair, Edward II. Henry de Luxemburgh, Don Fadrique d'Arragon, Don James, Ferdinand IV.

they had nothing to do but to join the ſeveral pieces together.

HE adds, that nevertheleſs the command of theſe ten Chriſtian gallies ought not to be given either to the templars or hoſpitallers, for fear, that if thoſe knights ſhould catch any veſſels belonging to the Venetian or Genoeſe merchants in this clandeſtine commerce, and ſeize them, they might draw upon the military orders the hatred and reſentment of thoſe two potent republics.

THE ſecond memorial contains an anſwer to the pope's deſign of uniting the templars and hoſpitallers under one and the ſame rule and head. The grand maſter repreſents to him, that, during the pontificate of Gregory IX. and in the reign of St. Louis, a propoſal had been made in the council of Lyons, for a project of the like nature, but much more comprehenſive, the deſign being to incorporate all the military orders that were in the church together: that the pope and the king, who aſſiſted both of them at that council, were pleaſed to conſult brother William Beaujon, grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, and brother William de Courcelles, one of the principal knights of the order of St. John, who met at the ſame time at Lyons, and to hear their ſentiments on this ſubject: that the grand maſter of the templars urged, that the kings of Spain, who were engaged in continual wars againſt the Moors, and drew their beſt forces from the military orders ſettled in their dominions, would never conſent, that thoſe Spaniſh knights, which depended on their reſpective ſovereigns, ſhould be put under the authority of a foreign head, or be incorporated with other military orders, that were inſtituted for different ends, and regulated by different ſtatutes; and that, upon theſe remonſtrances of the grand maſter, they gave over the deſign.

HE owned, that after the loſs of St. John d'Acre, this queſtion was brought upon the ſtage again, and that pope Nicholas IV. to ſkreen himſelf from the ſhame of not having furniſhed the leaſt ſuccour to the beſieged, declaimed warmly in ſeveral conſiſtories againſt the templars and hoſpitallers, as if, by their pre-

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tended diſſentions, they had occaſioned the loſs of that important place; but that there was not one perſon in Chriſtendom, nor even among the infidels, but knew that the grand maſter of the templars, the marſhal of the hoſpitallers, and above four hundred knights of both orders, died in defence of that city, out of which there came but ten templars alive: and that all the projects and diſcourſes of that pontiff about the neceſſity of an union, were attended with no effect. That pope Boniface VIII. who bore a particular affection for the military orders, and was deſirous to unite them, only to render them more powerful, had likewiſe given over the deſign; and that, after much reaſoning upon the ſubject, it was reſolved at laſt to let each order continue as it was, in its particular conſtitution, and keep to its own rules and form of government.

THE grand maſter, after producing theſe inſtances, enters next into a thorough examination of the affair, and repreſents to the pope, firſt, the danger to which he would expoſe the ſalvation of theſe military friars, by forcing them to quit their firſt rule, and putting them under the obligation of obſerving another, to which they had not received the grace of a particular call.

SECONDLY, he remonſtrates to him, that, ſuppoſing ſuch an union, the knights, tho' originally of different orders, being obliged to live together in the ſame community, would never fail to have diſputes with one another about the preference of their firſt profeſſions, and that theſe diſputes between men of courage, and provided with arms, might degenerate into combats, to the great ſcandal of all Chriſtendom.

THIRDLY, That in every houſe of the templars, they gave a general alms three times a week, and every day the poor had all the meat that came off the table in the refectory; that in like manner, the hoſpitallers, whoſe original foundation was on the foot of a continual exerciſe of charity, employed their alms chiefly in affording various helps and aſſiſtances to the ſick and

pilgrims;

pilgrims; and that, if two houſes of different orders were to be reduced to one, there would be but a ſingle charity for the poor, to their great detriment and prejudice: and the caſe would be equally the ſame with regard to the offices of divine worſhip, and all the exerciſes of piety, which were performed, tho' in a different manner, in the commandries of both orders.

FOURTHLY, ſays he, each order has one head and one grand maſter, and ſeveral officers of eminence, ſuch as the priors, the bailiffs, the marſhal, the grand commander, the draper, the hoſpitaller, and the turcopolier; and if, in the union propoſed, they keep up theſe offices, there will be in every priory two perſons with the ſame title. If they ſuppreſs one (ſays he) upon which of the orders ſhall that reform fall? Is it juſt, under pretence of ſuch an union, to deprive old knights of their poſts to which they have riſen by their ſervices, and by ſhedding their blood for the defence of Chriſtendom?

I AM very ſenſible, continues the grand maſter, that the view in this union is to put an end to that jealouſy and emulation, which too often reigns between warriours that aſpire all to the ſame glory. But let it be conſidered, ſays he, by way of reply, that the Latin Chriſtians have derived great advantages from this very emulation; that nothing has more contributed to raiſe the courage of one order, than the valour they have been witneſs of in another; and that it has been always obſerved, that if the hoſpitallers at any time ſent for troops, ſhips, arms and proviſions from their commandries, for the relief of the Holy Land, the templars, after their example, and to out-do them, if poſſible, made the more powerful armaments on their ſide.

'TIS not, moſt holy father, continues the grand maſter, but that I am convinced, that in a time like this, when all the world, princes, prelates, eccleſiaſtics and regulars, envy the great revenues of the two orders, and contrive various pretences to get them into their own hands, it would be a great advantage for us

to

to be united, that we may the better oppoſe the enterpriſes of ſuch uſurpers. But 'tis for your holineſs to weigh this advantage againſt the reaſons I have laid before you, and if you pleaſe, I will call a chapter, to be held in your preſence, of the priors, bailiffs, and principal commanders that are on this ſide the ſea. You may there, moſt holy father, inform yourſelf of their ſentiments on this ſubject, and ſee how the whole order ſtands diſpoſed to this union. After hearing them your holineſs will, in your great wiſdom, and in virtue of that ſovereign power you have received from God, decide ultimately in this point, as ſhall appear to you moſt conducive to the general good of all Chriſtendom.

HISTORY does not acquaint us with the uſe the pope made of theſe two memorials; nor was it till two years after, that he renewed the project of the cruſade.

WITH regard to the union of the two orders, the pope, in all probability, was ſenſible of the inconveniences attending it, and the ſolidity of the grand maſter's reaſons; and the pious and religious ſentiments that appear throughout his laſt memorial could not but make an impreſſion on him. Nor is it improbable, that the pope propoſed this union of the templars with the hoſpitallers only as a ſort of reform of the firſt, and to avoid bringing thoſe crimes upon the board, which Philip the Fair had complained to him of in private, and which his embaſſadors ſollicited him warmly to examine into and puniſh. Not to interrupt the thread of the narration, with regard to the particulars concerning the iſle of Rhodes, I ſhall forbear to enter into the detail of this extraordinary event, and of the proceedings againſt the templars, till I come to the year in which that affair was ended.

THE deſign of the hoſpitallers, as we have ſaid, was to abandon the iſle of Cyprus, and endeavour to make themſelves maſters of that of Rhodes. But a project of ſuch importance required forces ſuperior to thoſe of the order. The grand maſter, in hopes of obtaining aſ-

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ſiſtance from the pope and king of France, went into that kingdom, and came to Poitiers, where they were both met by agreement to treat about the affair of the templars. Fulk de Villaret deſired a private audience of them. He began with laying before them the cruel exactions with which the king of Cyprus and his miniſters were continually loading the hoſpitallers; the miſtruſtful and jealous humour of that prince, who, for fear of drawing upon himſelf the reſentment and arms of the ſultan of Egypt, and other infidel princes, obſtructed the armaments of the order, and hindered the knights from going out of his ports. The grand maſter, after ſhewing how impoſſible it was for his order to continue any longer in the territories of a prince governed by ſuch timorous politics, acquainted them with the intended enterpriſe on the iſle of Rhodes. He laid before them all the advantages of it, and repreſented to them, that it would ſerve as a ſtaple and place of rendezvous for all the cruſades and Chriſtian fleets that paſſed into the eaſt; that the conqueſt of this iſland ought to be conſidered as a ſure earneſt of that of the Holy Land, upon account of the great number of veſſels that the knights would put to ſea, which would hinder the Turkiſh and Sarazen corſairs, from carrying any ſuccours to the infidels in Judæa. But he added, that the forces of his order were not ſufficient for ſo great an enterpriſe, and they could not engage in it, without being aſſured of the aſſiſtance of the common father of the faithful, and that of the moſt powerful monarch of Europe.

THE pope and the king, perſuaded, as they generally were at that time all over Chriſtendom, that there was not a more meritorious action whereby to gain heaven, than to engage in, or contribute to theſe holy wars, were laviſh in their praiſes of the grand maſter, and the knights of St. John: and, to encourage them to purſue ſo noble a project, they promiſed them mighty ſuccours. The pope, thinking the conqueſt of Rhodes would be a great honour to his pontificate, advanced

ninety

ninety thouſand florins to the order out of his own purſe, for the levying of troops.

FOR the better covering the ſecret of this enterpriſe, they publiſhed a general cruſade for the recovery of the Holy Land. The pope annexed plenary indulgences to it, with all the privileges that his predeceſſors had granted in the like expeditions; and even ſuch as ſhould contribute to the expence of this armament were comprehended in the benefit of theſe apoſtolical graces. A great number of perſons of all conditions, eſpecially in Germany, abandoned their country, and liſted in this holy militia. The very women would have a ſhare in the cruſade; ſeveral parted even with their rings and jewels, and an hiſtorian pretends, that the knights of St. John ſold them for a trifle, for want of knowing their value. All this money was laid out in purchaſing veſſels, arms, and proviſions [a].

CHARLES II. king of Sicily, and the commonwealth of Genoa, tho' they did not know the ſecret deſign of this expedition, furniſhed galleys to tranſport ſuch as engaged in the cruſade. The rendezvous was at Brunduſium, in the further part of the kingdom of Naples, whither they flocked in ſuch numbers, that the knights, not having tranſports enough, and fearing to be incumbered with a multitude of people of all conditions, contented themſelves with chuſing out of this vaſt crowd ſuch as were beſt armed, and diſtinguiſhed by their quality and condition. It is ſaid, that a great number of gentlemen of the beſt families in Germany were there, who upon this occaſion, took the habit and croſs of St. John; and theſe illuſtrious knights were preſented to the grand maſter, by brother Heltwig de Randerſack [b], great prior of Germany, who, at the head of ſuch a brave and honourable company, acquired a great deal of glory in this expedition.

AFTER

[b] Pro paſſagio congregata fuit pecunia & armorum ac aliarum rerum copia, offerentibus fidelibus viris ac mulieribus jocalia & quæ habebant cariſſima, hoſpitalariis ad hoc miſſis, qui vili pretio diſtrahebant. Ex quinta vita Clementis V. Bal.

[a] Pantal. hiſt. Johan. Baſileæ. 1581.

AFTER this, the grand master took leave of the pope, who heaped favours and blessings in abundance upon him, and the order in general. He particularly granted them, in case the enterprise succeeded, the right of naming the archbishop of Rhodes, in a vacancy of the see. The weather was so foul, that they could not set sail till the beginning of the spring, when the Christian fleet coasted Albania, passed by the Morea, and the isle of Candia; and, leaving Rhodes on the left, at a sufficient distance to give no suspicion to the Greeks and infidels, stood in for the isle of Cyprus, and landed in the port of Limisso.

THE grand master stayed no longer there than was necessary to take on board the knights that were in the island, with all the effects of the order, which being done he put to sea again. The king of Cyprus, the neighbouring princes, and even the knights and troops of the crusade that were on board, were all persuaded that this armament was intended for the Holy Land. But the grand master, after some days sail put into Macri, on the coast of Lycia, either to take in water and refresh himself, or else to wait for the return of some spies that he had sent to take a view of the isle and town of Rhodes, and upon the advices they brought, to take the last measures for the landing of the army [a].

THIS was in all probability the place from whence, as the historian Pachymerus relates, he dispatched embassadors, in the name of the order, to the emperor Adronicus, to acquaint him with his enterprise, and demand the investiture of Rhodes, which held indeed of the empire, but had been seized by some rebel Greeks, in concert with the Sarazens, who, to fortify themselves in their usurpations, had called in some corsairs to their assistance.

THESE embassadors represented to him, that the order engaged to drive out those pirates which infested all the seas of the empire, and that, in consideration of the investiture, and in token of vassalage, they would furnish him every year three hundred knights, most of them

[a] Lib. 7. c. 30, & 31.

them fit for commanding, which he might put at the head of his troops on the frontiers of Perſia.

BUT Andronicus, being naturally an enemy to the Latins, as moſt of the Greek princes were, rejected the propoſal with contempt. A caſtle which he ſtill enjoyed in the iſland (as the Greek hiſtorian relates) and ſome ſmall ſhadow of a precarious ſovereignty, which the Guallas ſtill complimented him with, made him fancy, that it would be eaſier for him to recover his whole authority there, whilſt in their hands, than if the hoſpitallers, ſupported by the princes of the weſt, were maſters of it. Whilſt this negotiation was carrying on at Conſtantinople, the grand maſter, who expected what would be the iſſue of it, had ſet ſail, and after publicly declaring his deſign, had made a deſcent upon the iſle of Rhodes, ſurpriſed the Greek and infidel inhabitants, and landed his troops, proviſions and military engines, with very little oppoſition *.

VARIOUS are the names that have at different times been given to the iſle of Rhodes. The Greeks called it Ophiuſa, or the iſle of ſerpents, becauſe of the multitude of ſerpents that infected it. Some ſay, that it had the name of Rhodes from a roſe bud made of braſs, which was taken up out of the foundation of Lindus, one of its chief cities, and that the inhabitants ſtamped the figure of it on their coin. But an able antiquary has ſhewn, that thoſe who eſpouſe this ſentiment, have miſtaken a roſe for the flower of a pomegranate, which the Rhodians ordinarily made uſe of in dying their cloth, and which they impreſſed upon their coin for the ſame reaſon that the Tyrians ſtamped theirs with the ſhell of that valuable little fiſh called the purple.

* Anno eodem 1306, hoſpitallarii cum exercitu Chriſtianorum oppugnare ceperunt inſulam Rhodi cum circumjacentibus inſulis circiter quinque, quæ ab infidelibus Turcis inhabitabantur ſub dominio imperatoris Conſtantinopolitani: ceperunt autem ſtatim ab initio aliquas inſulas & caſtella: ſteteruntque in pugna & conflictu obſidentes pariter et obſeſſi annis quatuor contra Turcos & obtinuerunt finaliter Chriſtiani. Ex quarta vita Clementis V. autore Bernardo Guidonis epiſcopo Lodovenſi.

The moſt common and probable opinion derives the original of the name of Rhodes, from the quantity of roſes with which that iſland is ſtocked almoſt all the year round.

THE iſland of Rhodes is ſituate in that part of the Mediterranean which is called the Carpathian ſea. It has the iſle of Cyprus on the eaſt, that of Candia on the weſt, Egypt on the ſouth, and on the north lie Caria and Lycia, which make part of Aſia Minor, now called Natolia, from which it is divided only by a channel, not above twenty miles broad. It is about ſixſcore miles in circumference, the air is clear and temperate, the climate mild, and the ſoil almoſt every where fertile: the country abounds particularly in fruit-trees of all ſorts. There were anciently iron and copper mines in it; and the inhabitants who were famous for the perfection to which they carried their improvement of all manner of arts, employed theſe metals in making arms, warlike inſtruments, and eſpecially ſtatues, of which there were reckoned to be in the old town of Rhodes, no leſs than three thouſand of different ſizes, all wrought by excellent workmen, and repreſenting either deities, princes or illuſtrious men. The city was, if I may uſe the expreſſion, peopled with them; but of all theſe images the moſt remarkable and ſurprizing was a coloſſus, conſecrated to the ſun, the tutelar god of the iſle. Pliny tells us, that it was ſeventy cubits high, and that it was the work of Chares of Lindus, a diſciple of Lyſippus. An earthquake overturned this prodigious ſtatue. There were few perſons, adds the hiſtorian, that could claſp its thumb in their arms; its fingers were bigger than ſeveral ſtatues, and large cavities being diſcovered after its fall, they found great ſtones within, which the excellent artiſt had ſo adjuſted, as to poize the weight of the coloſſus, and keep it firm upon its feet: I forbear to ſpeak of the paintings and pictures with which their temples were filled, all maſter-pieces of art, and the works of the Parrhaſius's, the Protogene's, the Zeuxis's, and the Apelles's. The iſle of Rhodes was

no

leſs famous for its academies, and for the great men that came out thence, accomplished in all kinds of literature. 'Tis ſufficiently known to have been the ſchool of the Romans, particularly for eloquence, and whither they went to perfect themſelves in the talent of ſpeaking, ſo neceſſary in that commonwealth, for all that were concerned in the government.

BUT what is yet more ſurprizing, is, that the Rhodians, a people of ſuch application to arts and ſciences, which ſeem only calculated for peace, were no leſs famous for their arms, their conqueſts, and their colonies. They excelled eſpecially in the art of navigation; their ports were filled with ſhips; they had arſenals and magazines capable of fitting out whole fleets; and they became ſo powerful by ſea, that there was not in all Aſia a monarch but courted their alliance: but they never employed their forces more willingly than againſt pirates. 'Twas by their skill in ſailing, and a wiſe diſcipline, ſays Strabo, that they ſo long kept poſſeſſion of the empire of the ſea.

BUT all theſe talents which made this iſle ſo famous in the time of the Greeks and Romans, were entirely neglected by the Greeks of the lower empire. The revolutions that happened in their own government, and in that of ſeveral other nations, to which they were afterwards ſubject, did no leſs contribute to the fall of this maritime empire; and the ignorance and effeminacy of the Rhodian Sarazens; who, except ſome corſairs, rarely ever went to ſea, gave the finiſhing ſtroke to their power and former reputation.

SUCH was the condition of the iſland, when the grand maſter entered it at the head of his army. The infidels, who were the main ſtrength of the place, uniting with the Greeks, the old inhabitants of the iſle, had frequent engagements with the hoſpitallers, and the troops of the cruſade, which the grand maſter had brought from Europe. There was ſome action or other almoſt every day; and it is ſurpriſing, that the ancient hiſtorians have not left us the particulars of them; but that the ſucceſs was various, is evident from the length of the

war, which laſted near four years. The Greek emperor, flattering himſelf that if he could drive out the Latins, he ſhould remain maſter of the iſle, ſent a great body of troops againſt them. The grand maſter, on the other hand, being ſenſible, that the ſucceſs of his enterprize depended on the taking of the town of Rhodes, reſolved, notwithſtanding this ſuccour, to beſiege it: he ſat down before the town, and his knights, by his example, threw themſelves into the greateſt dangers to forward the conqueſt. But as moſt of the croiſade were drawing off one after another, and the army was at laſt reduced to the troops of the order alone, the ſiege was turned into a blockade. The beſiegers were in a ſhort time beſieged themſelves by the Greeks and Sarazens, who ſtopped up the avenues by which they uſed to fetch in their proviſions, or march out for forage. The hoſpitallers were at laſt in want of troops, proviſions and money; but the grand maſter found a ſupply for every thing in his own capacity and courage, which the greateſt difficulties ſerved only to whet and improve. He borrowed conſiderable ſums of the bankers of Florence, and with this ſupply, and the money he raiſed from the commandries beyond ſea, he levied new troops, paid off the old, and allowing them ſome days for refreſhment, he went out of his intrenchments, with a reſolution either to vanquiſh or die, marched directly againſt the enemy, and offered them battle.

THE action was bloody, and they fought on both ſides with a warmth and fury to be expected between foreign troops that would ſeize a country, and inhabitants that are defending their houſes, lands, wives and children; the ſtrongeſt motives in nature to animate and put fire into a people the leaſt warlike. Hiſtorians give us no farther account, than that there was a great deal of bloodſhed on both ſides; that the grand maſter loſt the braveſt of his knights; but that their valour and reſolution at laſt carried the day, and the Greeks and infidels, no longer able to ſtand before them, quitted the field of battle; and ſeveral Sarazens,

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who deſpaired of being able to make head againſt the Latins, fled to the ſea-ſide, embarked, and, landing in the iſles of the Archipelago, and on the coaſt of Lycia, carried thither the firſt news of their defeat.

THE grand maſter brought his victorious troops back into his lines, and continued the ſiege with new vigour. After he had gained the principal fortifications, the knights, at the head of the troops, advanced to ſtorm the place, and, mounting through a ſhower of arrows and ſtones, which the beſieged let fly at the aſſailants, planted the grand maſter's ſtandard on the top of the breach, and carried the place[b]. They ſpared the lives of the Chriſtian inhabitants, and gave them their liberty, but the infidels were cut in pieces. This is the ſum of what the hiſtorians of that time ſay in their ſhort account of this expedition. The conqueſt of the capital was followed with the taking of the caſtle of Lindus, which is ſituate in the eaſtern part of the iſland. Near this caſtle there is a port and two bays, lying to the north, one of which is called to this day the bay of ſerpents. The other fortreſſes ſhared the ſame fate, and the whole iſland was, in leſs than four years, reduced under the dominion of the hoſpitallers. As an eternal monument of a conqueſt ſo uſeful to Chriſtendom, and ſo glorious to the order of St. John, all nations, by common conſent, gave the hoſpitallers the name of the knights of Rhodes: and it is by this name that we ſhall for the future ſpeak of a body of knights that continued to make themſelves as uſeful to Chriſtian princes, as they were formidable to the Mahometans. Aug. 15. 1310.

THE grand maſter's firſt care was to repair the walls and fortifications of the town of Rhodes, which he had ruined during the ſiege: in the next place, he brought all the veſſels of the order into the port; which

[b] Anno Domini 1310, in feſto aſſumptionis beatæ Mariæ, exercitus Chriſtianorum, cum hoſpitalariis, obtinuerunt civitatem Rhodi, quæ eſt caput & metropolis totius regionis & inſularum vicinarum. Ex vita Clementis V. p. 72.

were fitted out immediately, and laden with troops, ammunition and provisions: the grand master went himself on board the fleet, and set sail. Of all the conquests that the old Rhodians had made, or colonies that they had settled in different countries, there was nothing left at that time under their dominion, but eight or nine small adjacent isles, or rather clusters of rocks and shelves, which were then called the isles of the Rhodians. Such were the isles of Nisara, Lero, Calamo, Episcopia, Chalce, Simia, Tilo, and Cos, or Lango. To reduce these isles under his obedience, the grand master had only the trouble of appearing before them. Nisara, called by the ancients Nisyris, was situate in the Archipelago, two leagues from the isle of Cos, or Lango, and at the same distance from the province of Caria. This isle had in it a town of the same name, which in ancient times was famous for a temple dedicated to Neptune, for hot and wholsome baths, and a good port. The grand master, in concert with the supreme council of the order, granted this isle in fief to John and Bonaville Assatiers, two brothers, who had signalized themselves in the conquest of Rhodes; and this feoffment was made on condition, that they should build immediately one galley of sixscore oars, well provided with soldiers and ammunition, and be obliged to go on board it themselves, and repair to such places as should be appointed by the orders of the grand master.

THAT prince passed from thence to the isle of Lero, which is about eighteen Italian miles in circumference. There are quarries of marble all over it: the whole isle is but a rock or mountain, on the highest part of which there was a castle to defend the entrance of the port from any attempts of the corsairs. Though the isle of Calamo is larger, and at least forty miles in compass, yet it is neither more fertile nor rich than Lero; 'tis indeed nothing but rocks and mountains. The soil appeared so dry and barren to the grand master, that he was surprized to see near the port the ruins of a great city,

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the inhabitants whereof could not, in all probability, have any way of ſubſiſtence but by commerce.

THE iſles of Epiſcopia, Calchi, and Tilo, afforded the knights as eaſy conqueſts, but not at all more profitable than the former. That of Syma, or Simia, ſeemed more important, by reaſon of the excellence of its wines, and the number of goats that are bred there. The children in this iſland were brought up to ſwim, and dive in the ſea, in order to fiſh at the bottom of the water for ſponges, which are in great plenty all about the iſland; and there was a law among them, in former times, prohibiting young men from marriage, till they could dive twenty fathom deep in the water, and continue there for ſome time. This iſle was ſtill famous among thoſe of the Archipelago, for the skill of its carpenters, who built pinks and ſmall frigates, ſo light and ſwift for ſailing or roving, that there was no veſſel could come near them. It is ſaid, that the grand maſter cauſed a tower of vaſt height to be built there, on the top of a mountain, from whence they could diſcover ſhips at a great diſtance from the ſhore, and that he ordered the inhabitants, when they ſaw any appear, to ſend advice of it to Rhodes by their light barks, or give notice by the ſtated ſignals of lighting up fires in the night-time, and making a thick ſmoak by day.

OF all theſe iſlands, if we may give them that name, Cos, or Lango, famous for the birth of Hippocrates and Apelles, was the moſt conſiderable. 'Tis near forty Italian miles in length, and about ſeventy in circumference.

THIS iſland has that of Rhodes on the ſouth-eaſt. 'Tis about an hundred miles diſtant from Aſia Minor, or Anatolia, which lies directly eaſt of it. It has the iſle of Calamus on the weſt, and that of Scarpanto on the ſouth: the ſoil of it is fertile, and it produces fruits of all ſorts in great plenty. It excels in wines, which paſs for the moſt delicious in thoſe parts. The grand maſter obſerved there a little town, called Lango, from the name of the iſland, ſituate by the ſea-ſide, at the end of a great bay, and at the foot of an hill, which

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terminates in a plain. The port was at that time large and convenient; but some time since, stormy weather, and the waves of the sea, have driven in such a quantity of sand, that the mouth of the port is almost choaked up, and it admits none but little vessels, large ships and gallies being obliged to stay in the road adjoining, which is clean, firm, sandy, and proper for anchorage.

THE grand master, perceiving the importance of the isle, caused a plan of a castle, fortified with several square towers, to be marked out; which, by his vigilance and care, was finished in a short time, and he left a knight to command there. Such as succeeded him in that post, encouraged commerce in the island, adorned the town with fine houses, and these with an infinite number of marble pillars and statutes: and this isle became afterwards so powerful, under the government of the order, that it was looked upon as a second Rhodes, and made a bailiwick, and an episcopal see under the Metropolitan of Rhodes.

THE grand master having established his authority, and ordered all things to his mind in these islands, came back to Rhodes in triumph. He was in hopes of enjoying there, with comfort and tranquility, the first fruits of his victory, when he found himself attacked by a formidable enemy, raised up against him by the corsairs and the other Mahometans, who had joined with the Greek inhabitants in defending the isle of Rhodes against the knights. These infidels, after their defeat, and to avoid the first fury of the victorious soldiers, had got on board some barks, and, under the shelter of the night, had landed safe on the coast of Lycia, from whence they dispersed themselves into different places, and part of them took refuge in the territories of Ottoman, carrying thither their complaints, and the history of their calamities.

OSMAN, or Ottoman[a], from whom the Turkish emperors of that denomination are descended, reigned at that time over part of Bithynia, a provence of Asia Minor,

[a] Observations sur l'origine des Turcs, l. 3. c. 8.

nor, or Natolia. That prince, either out of zeal for his religion, or out of ambition, and a deſire of aggrandizing himſelf, or it may be to prevent ſuch bold and enterprizing neighbours from ſettling ſo near his dominions, took theſe refugees into his protection, and reſolved to drive the knights out of the iſle of Rhodes before they had time to eſtabliſh their dominions there: this we are now going to relate; but perhaps the reader will not be diſpleaſed to have a more particular account of the original, the fortune, the deſigns and conqueſts of a prince and houſe, which, from very weak beginnings, has extended itſelf, with a wonderful rapidity, into three parts of our continent, and laid the foundation of this new empire almoſt at the very time that the knights of St. John ſeized the iſle of Rhodes, as if providence had directed them thither, to ſerve as a barrier againſt Ottoman and his ſucceſſors, and ſtop the progreſs of the Turkiſh arms by their valour.

THERE are different accounts of the origin of this houſe; ſome derive it from a Tartar, or Nomadian ſhepherd, who, quitting the care of his flock, applied himſelf to arms, ſet up for a dueller, and, upon vanquiſhing, in ſingle combat, a Greek trooper, belonging to the army of the emperor John Comnenus, received, by way of recompence, from Aladin ſultan of Iconium, the town of Ottomanzic, from whence his poſterity have taken their name.

THOUGH the Turks in general are not uſually fond of counterfeit genealogies, leaving that illuſion to the vanity of Chriſtians; yet the princes of this houſe, after they were arrived to that grandeur and height of power, which made them formidable to all their neighbours, did not care to own ſo mean an original; and, in defect of truth, were forced to have recourſe, like a great many others, to fable and romance. They pretended that the Tartar we are ſpeaking of, was a prince of the illuſtrious houſe of the Comneni, and nephew to the emperor John Comnenus, who meeting with ill treatment, retired, in hopes of revenging himſelf, to the court of Aladin, turned Mahometan and married the ſultan's daughter,

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who having for her portion the town of Ottomanzic, with several villages depending upon it, their posterity took their surname from thence down to sultan Ottoman, who distinguishing himself above all his race by his valour, laid the foundation of the new monarchy of the Turks, and left the name of Ottoman to the famous descendants of that Comnenus, who was nephew to the emperor.

THUS the romance; but instead of such a piece of flattery and imposture, take the true history of the fact as follows[a]. It appears from all the writers of that time, that the original of this house cannot be carried higher than one Soliman, who lived A. D. 1214, and in the year 611 of the Hegira. He was chief of one of those tribes of Nomades, who, having no particular country of their own, wandered from place to place, stopping successively wherever they were suffered to do so, and where they found good pasture for their flocks. It is said, that this Tartar, or Turk, being driven out of Persia with his tribe, was drowned in attempting to swim cross the Euphrates on horseback.

AFTER his death, Orthogul, or Orthogrul, one of his children, became the head and leader of the tribe, and applied himself, for a place of retreat, to Alaédin III. of the Seljoucidian race of Turcomans, and sultan of Iconium: that prince took him into his service, and assigned his tribe some lands in Armenia Minor to inhabit. Ottoman, son to Orthogul, by his courage and valour carried his hopes and fortune to a higher pitch. His tribe and troops increased considerably by a great number of adventurers that joined him, and drawn by the fame of his valour and liberality, were desirous to fight under his banner. He made them brave soldiers, and excellent warriors, and the success of his arms kept pace with his courage. Alaédin, charmed with his reputation, sent him a vest, a sabre, a standard, and a pair of kettle drums. It is reported, that as often as Ottoman heard the sound of that warlike musick, to shew his respect to the sultan, he never failed, if he was sitting,

[a] Histoire de Mahomet II. par la Guilletierre.

ting, to riſe up, thereby ſignifying, as it were, that he was always ready to march at his command. But notwithſtanding theſe exterior marks of zeal and ſubmiſſion, the ſultan, who was old and without iſſue, grew jealous of him, and dreading his courage and ambition, put him upon making war againſt the Greeks, for fear he ſhould turn his arms againſt himſelf.

OTTOMAN took whole provinces and conſiderable towns from the Greek emperors, which rendered him ſo powerful, that he aſ- A. D. 1299. ſumed the title of ſultan, with the con- Hegir. 699, ſent of Alaédin himſelf. Others ſay, that he was not inveſted with that ſovereign title, till after the death of his maſter.

THAT prince, the laſt of the Seljeucides, being dead, his generals, like Alexander the Great's captains, divided his dominions among them. Part of Bythinia and Cappadocia fell to Ottoman. That prince knew how to maintain this riſing empire, by new conqueſts, which he gained in Lycia and Caria, as well as by the wiſdom of his government, and the ſingular goodneſs of his nature; a virtue rarely to be found in a warlike prince and a conqueror. The fame of his affability has been conveyed down by tradition among the Turks, and is preſerved to this day. When their emperors mount the throne, amidſt the public acclamations, and among the virtues worthy of a ſovereign, they never fail to wiſh them the goodneſs of Ottoman; which ſhews, that they are heroes, and virtuous princes, that found and raiſe empires, and tyrants and effeminate ones that loſe them.

THE prince we are ſpeaking of, being ſolicited by the Mahometans, whom the knights had chaſed out of Rhodes, put his troops on board a fleet, landed in the iſle, advanced towards the capital, and inveſted it. The grand maſter had ſcarce time enough to repair the walls, but the baſtions and fortifications were ſtill in a ruinous condition. Experience ſhewed, on this occaſion, that no place can be more ſecurely fortified, than by the courage and valour of thoſe that defend it.

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The knights ſtood ſeveral ſtorms: the Turks loſt abundance of men in theſe aſſaults; and Ottoman, that was ſo ſucceſsful in all his enterpriſes, miſcarried in this, and was obliged to raiſe the ſiege and embark.

SEVERAL hiſtorians pretend, that the knights of Rhodes owed their deliverance, and the preſervation of their late conqueſt, to Amée V. called the Great, count of Savoy. They ſay, that this prince, coming with a mighty fleet to their ſuccour, landed his troops, advanced againſt the enemy, defeated them in battle, and forced Ottoman to raiſe the ſiege, and re-imbark. Theſe writers add, that Amée, to preſerve the memory of this great event, and ſo glorious a victory, took thereupon, for his device, theſe four capitals, divided by ſtops from one another, F. E. R. T. which were afterwards explained by theſe Latin words, Fortitudo ejus Rhodum tenuit, meaning, that the valour of that prince preſerved the town of Rhodes; nay, they would needs have it, that Amée, after this battle, ſtruck the eagle of Savoy out of his arms, and took in its ſtead the croſs of St. John. 1310.

THOUGH an event ſo extraordinary in itſelf, and ſo honourable for the houſe of Savoy, has been related by an infinite number of writers, and is mentioned too in the hiſtorians of the order, yet the ſtrict regard we owe to truth, obliges us to declare, that we look upon this relation as falſe, falſe both in ſubſtance and in all its circumſtances.

IT is not true, that Amée came into the iſle of Rhodes, and made war there, either in 1310, or in the years which immediately preceded or followed the conqueſt of it by the knights of St. John.

THAT prince[a], in 1309, was in England, and preſent at the ceremony of the coronation of Edward II. and the year following, A. D. 1310, in September, he was at Chamberry, where he entertained Henry II. count of Luxemburgh, emperor elect, and attended him afterwards in his Italian voyage to Rome, whither that prince went to receive the imperial crown; and it is

[a] Guicheron. T. 1. p. 359.

is plain from cotemporary hiſtorians, that he did not ſtir from the emperor either in that or the following year.

WITH regard to the myſterious device, upon which they found this pretended expedition into the iſle of Rhodes, Louis of Savoy, baron de Vaux, who died in 1301, ſtamped it upon his coin above ten years before Ottoman attacked the knights; and we ſtill ſee upon the tomb of Thomas of Savoy, father of Amée V. whom we are now ſpeaking of, the repreſentation of a dog lying at his feet, with a collar, about which we read the word Fert, without any points to disjoin the letters.

NOR is there any more force in the proof they would draw from the croſs of the order of St. John, which they ſuppoſe was firſt born by Amée, in the arms of his family. For beſides, that the princes of Piedmont bore the ſame croſs long before, we find it as high as *A. D.* 120, in a ſeal of Thomas of Savoy, fixed to a treaty which he made that very year with Stephen de Coligni, lord of Andelot; which ſhews clearly, that all that they have invented to explain theſe four myſterious letters, is a mere fable, and that the knights of Rhodes owed the firſt defence of that place to nothing but their own valour and their arms.

THE grand maſter, as ſoon as he ſaw the Turks reimbarked, to put the town of Rhodes for the future in a good ſtate of defence, ſtrengthened the walls with a good rampart, and added new fortifications to it. After this he applied himſelf with great diligence to reſtore commerce to its former flouriſhing ſtate, which, before the war, and indeed in all ages, had made it one of the moſt conſiderable towns of Aſia. His port was free and open to all nations: a great number of Chriſtians, eſpecially of the Latins, who, after the loſs of the Holy Land, had diſperſed themſelves in different parts of Greece, flocked thither to ſettle themſelves, and live under the ſtandard of St. John, from which they had ſo often found protection. Out of this medley of knights and inhabitants, as well Greeks as Latins, a new war-

like and trading ſtate was formed, that ſoon became as potent by its riches as it was formidable by the courage and valour of its new ſovereigns.

THE fame of this conqueſt, and the news of the raiſing of the ſiege, paſſed ſoon into the weſt. 'Twas the ſubject of univerſal joy in all the ſtates of Chriſtendom. It was followed with a compariſon between the two military orders, not at all to the advantage of the templars. They ſaid, that the hoſpitallers had never ſhewn any diſpoſition to give over the hopes of driving the infidels ſome time or other out of the Holy Land; that they had ſtaid in the eaſt for this end; and that their late conqueſt of an iſland ſo conſiderable as that of Rhodes, ſecured a commodious port for all the cruſades: whereas the templars, by their precipitate retreat into Europe to their commandries, and by the effeminate and luxurious lives they led there, ſeemed to have renounced their profeſſion, and left the holy places for ever as a prey to the Turks and Sarazens. Theſe diſcourſes, which were not deſtitute of truth, with others ſtill more odious that were privately ſpread abroad, determined the king of France to proſecute his deſign of ſuppreſſing that order.

WE do not certainly know in what year that prince took up this terrible reſolution againſt the templars. It only appears from hiſtory, that a citizen of Beziers, named Squin de Florian, and a templar that had apoſtatized from his order, having been apprehended for enormous crimes, and committed to the ſame dungeon, theſe two villains deſpairing of life, confeſſed one another, for want of the ſacrament of penance, which at that time was not adminiſtred to criminals going to execution. The ſame practice was in uſe among ſuch as travelled by ſea, if in a ſtorm they found themſelves in danger of being loſt, and there was no prieſt in the ſhip.

SQUIN having heard the templar's confeſſion, called one of the king's officers, and told him that he was ready to reveal a ſecret to that prince, of ſuch importance, that he would receive more advantage from the know-

knowledge of it, than from the conqueſt of an entire kingdom; but that he would never diſcover it to any body but the king himſelf. Other hiſtorians aſcribe this fact to a templar prior of Montfaucon, and to another knight of the ſame order, called Noſſodei, who, for their impieties and infamous lives, had been both condemned by the grand maſter and council of the order, to be immured for life.

WHATEVER were the names of theſe villains, Philip the Fair, at the inſtance of him that deſired to ſpeak with him, and perhaps out of impatience to know the ſecret which was to procure him ſuch immenſe riches, ſent for him to Paris. He reſolved to hear himſelf what he had to ſay, and after promiſing him a full pardon, and even a reward, if he told the truth, the criminal, who had drawn up a plan of his accuſation, charged the whole body of the templars with robbery, murder, idolatry, and ſodomy. He added, that when a templar was received into the order, they obliged him to renounce Jeſus Chriſt, to ſpit upon the croſs in token of his abhorrence of it; and that theſe knights being ſecret Mahometans, had, by a vile piece of treachery, ſold the Holy Land to the ſultans and princes of that ſect. More of this nature may be ſeen in the collection of Peter Dupuy, where there is a particular detail of all the abominations and obſcenities which this informer charged upon the order, and which decency does not allow us to mention here.

THE king gave the pope an account of theſe accuſations in the interview he had with him at Lyons, and preſſed him ſtill more cloſely upon the ſame ſubject the year following at Poitiers, where they met by concert to treat of this grand affair. But it does not appear that the pope had as yet taken any method but that of private information. As the embaſſadors, which the king left at the pope's court, ſolicited him continually to condemn this order, we have a letter of Clement's to the king, dated July 9. in which he declares expreſsly, that if the corruption charged upon the templars was as general as he pretended, and the whole order was

to be abolished, he would have all their effects and revenues employed for the recovery of the Holy Land, and would not suffer the least part thereof to be converted to other uses; which would make one believe, that the pope suspected the prosecution carried on against the templars, was levelled as much at their great riches and estates, as against the irregularity of their manners.

It appears likeways that the pope, either on account of this affair, or that of Boniface, whose memory the king insisted he should condemn, and censure him as an impious person and an heretic, finding himself beset with the ministers of that prince, had been desirous of a time to be out of his territories; and that he even disguised himself to escape from Poitiers, and in A. D. 1306, set out with some cardinals for Bourdeaux, without any other attendants but some mules to carry his money. But being discovered on the road by the king's emissaries, he thought it best to return back again to Poitiers[a].

PHILIP, who was warm and impatient, and could not bear with the pope's slow and dilatory way of proceeding, gave private orders to apprehend, on one and the same day, the grand master and all the templars that were in Paris, and the several provinces of his kingdom. This order was executed on Friday Oct. 13th; and, at the same time, all their effects were seized and sequestered into the king's hands[b].

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[a] Tunc papa & cardinales venerunt Pictavim, ubi longiorem moram, ut dicitur, quam voluissent fecerunt, Rege Francorum & ejus complicibus & ministris illic eos quasi detinentibus violenter. Nam papa, ut dicitur, sub alterius fictione personæ aliquando tentavit cum paucis summariis tamen oneratis argento & auro præcedentibus, versus Burdegalam proficisci: Sed à quibusdam qui pro rege erant agnitus, cum rebus quas illuc volebat transferre, compulsus est Pictavim remeare. Prima vita Clementis V. ex Baluzio p. 5.

[b] Eodem anno in Octobri capti fuerunt omnes templarii una die in toto regno Franciæ, accusati de hæresi pessimâ, unde confiscata 1307 sunt omnia bona eorum, quæ nunc tenet ordo hospitalariorum & ipsi in carcere duo detinentur. Secunda vita Clementis V. auctore Ptolemæo Lucensi ordinis prædicatorum.

A STEP ſo extraordinary, cauſed a general ſurpriſe all over Chriſtendom. Some aſcribed it to the ſecret reſentment which the king, who was revengeful in his nature, retained, as they ſaid, againſt the templars, for having declared themſelves in favour of Boniface VIII. during the differences between him and that pontiff. It was ſaid likeways, that they had furniſhed the pope with conſiderable ſums; and to incenſe the king the more, they added, that a templar, treaſurer to Philip, had been ſo faithleſs to his maſter, as to take the king's own money to aſſiſt his enemy with it out of the treaſury, as may be ſeen in the ſixth article of the accuſations brought againſt them, and recited in the great chronicle of St. Denis. in the reign of Philip the Fair. Qu'eux reconnurent du thréſor du roi à aucuns avoir donné, qui au roi avoient fait contrarieté, laquelle choſe étoit moult domageable au royaume. Meaning hereby, as Belleforeſt ſays*, Boniface VIII. a mortal enemy to the king, and continually at variance with him.

OTHER hiſtorians, without going ſo far back as the king's difference with Boniface, pretend, that this prince, having debaſed his coin without lowering its value, to carry on the war againſt the Flemings, the templars, who found their intereſt touched by it, had been underhand the authors of a ſedition raiſed on that occaſion at Paris, or at leaſt had fomented it by ſpeaking it too freely againſt the perſon of the king. The people, who are always people, i. e. always diſcontented with the government, whatever it be, maintained, that there was no need to ſearch for any other motive for the apprehending of the templars, than the avarice of that prince and his miniſters, and their greedineſs to have the plunder of the immenſe riches of the order. Upon this occaſion they cited the late example of the Jews, who were tolerated in the kingdom; but Philip had, the year before, cauſed them all to be arreſted in one day, as he had juſt ſerved the templars; and after ſtripping them of all their effects, had obliged them to depart the kingdom with their families, half

* Coſmog. l. 3. Traité des templiers, p. 1105.

ſtarved and naked, with only a poor pittance for them to ſubſiſt on in the road.

SOME warm perſons, called likeways to mind what had paſſed in Italy at Anagni, the country and reſidence of Boniface VIII. whoſe treaſure was plundered by ſome French and Italian adventurers, that the king maintained privately beyond the mountains, under the command of Nogaret and Colonna. They ſaid the king had put into his own pocket the greateſt part of this treaſure, which was the richeſt in Chriſtendom, either in gold and ſilver, or in diamonds and precious ſtones.

THERE is ſtill in being an anonymous memorial of thoſe times, which might induce one to ſuſpect, that among the motives ſuggeſted to that prince, to engage him to puſh on the condemnation of the templars, there were ſome not altogether diſintereſted. As the deſign of aboliſhing the order was no longer made a ſecret in France, after the templars were taken up, one of that ſet of men who raiſe their own fortune on the ruin of that of others, propoſed to king Philip the Fair, to inſtitute and found a new order, by the name of the royal order, and to obtain a grant from the pope, to annex the great revenues of the templars to it; that the knights of Rhodes, and the knights of all the other military orders in Chriſtendom, ſhould be incorporated into this new order; that they ſhould be all obliged to take the habit of it, and acknowledge the authority of one grand maſter general, who ſhould be named for that purpoſe by the ſovereign pontiff. To engage the king in this project, the author of the memorial propoſed, that his majeſty ſhould enter into a treaty with all the other ſovereigns that aſſumed the title of kings of Jeruſalem, and get that title conferred on the king of Cyprus, who had neither wife nor children; and that this prince, being made grand maſter of the order, ſhould take the habit, be profeſſed, and declare Philip, ſecond ſon to the king of France, his ſucceſſor in the grand maſterſhip, and the two crowns; which young prince, by this union of two crowns, joined to the immenſe revenues of all the military orders, would become one of the moſt potent princes of

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the eaſt. The bait was like enough to go down with a king that had three male children[a].

BUT be the caſe how it will, with regard to the various motives that determined Philip the Fair to preſs the condemnation of the templars[a], we leave it freely to the reader to decide, whether he acted in this grand affair, out of a pure zeal for the preſervation of religion, as is affirmed in the bulls of pope Clement V. or whether that prince did not proceed with ſo much heat againſt the templars, merely out of the principle of a gainful vengeance blended with avarice, as was given out by foreign writers, prejudiced perhaps, and enemies to France. I know not whether we are to aſcribe the letters of Edward II. king of England, to this national jealouſy; but as ſoon as that prince heard of the impriſonment of the templars in France, he wrote immediately to the pope, and moſt of the European princes, deſiring them to give no credit to the calumnies ſpread abroad againſt thoſe knights, who are, ſays he, reverenced over all England for the purity of their faith, the regularity of their lives, and their zeal for the defence of religon.

BUT notwithſtanding this apology, it muſt be owned, that after the firſt age of the inſtitution of the templars, a wordly ſpirit, luxury, and the delicacies and exceſſes of the table, had begun to infect ſeveral knights of that order. The old proverb of drinking like a templar, which after ſuch a diſtance of time, is ſtill kept up, ſhews what a character they had upon this article. 'Tis true, indeed, that the primitive valour and zeal of the old templars againſt the infidels, ſtill diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the body of the order; but in moſt of its particular members, there was no longer to be found that ſpirit of religion, animated by a lively faith, which St. Bernard ſo highly extolled, nor yet that diſintereſtedneſs and Chriſtian moderation which their predeceſſors preſerved, even in the midſt of the moſt glorious victories. That happy age once gone, a haughty

[a] Louis Hutin, Philip the Long, Charles the Fair.

haughty deportment, which high birth is too apt to inſpire, a fierceneſs which their valour gave them, and a certain domineering ſpirit, which great riches never fail to produce, made them afterwards paſs for the proudeſt of men.

THE templars were accuſed of ambition, a fatal paſſion, which drew upon them afterwards the ſeverity, and, if I may venture to ſay ſo, the unmercifulneſs of moſt of the biſhops their judges, with whom both they and the hoſpitallers had formerly great differences, on account of their independence, and the privileges of their order.

THESE prelates, at the king's inſtance, and aſſiſted by William de Paris, a dominican, the inquiſitor general and confeſſor to that prince, called the priſoners before them to undergo their firſt examination; and the famous William de Nogaret, ſo noted for the boldneſs of his enterpriſes againſt Boniface VIII. had likewiſe the management of this terrible affair.

THE pope was not a little ſurpriſed to hear of the impriſonment of the grand maſter, and all the templars in France, and he looked upon the proceedings of the biſhops and inquiſitor, as an incroachment upon his own authority. In the firſt heat of his reſentment, he ſuſpended the powers of William de Paris, and inhibited the biſhops of France from taking any cogniſance of this affair, which he reſerved to himſelf. He wrote at the ſame time to the king, to complain of his impriſoning the members of a religious order, who held, as he ſaid, of no ſuperior but the holy ſee; and told him, in a letter written with much ſpirit, that he had ſent the cardinals Berenger de Fredole, and Stephen de Suly, and expected that he ſhould immediately put both the perſons and effects of the templars into their hands, or thoſe of the biſhop of Preneſte his nuncio.

PHILIP anſwered him*, that he had not cauſed them to be apprehended but upon the previous requeſt of

* Hiſt. de la condemn.ᵒ des templiers par Dupuy, p. 11.

of the inquiſitor, an officer of the court of Rome, and appointed by the pope himſelf in his kingdom; that the ſuſpenſion of the powers of that dominican, and of thoſe of the biſhops, who by a right eſſential to their order, were judges in matters of doctrine, was very prejudicial to religion; that the templars would not fail to make their advantage of it, and might upon this occaſion flatter themſelves with hopes of finding protection at his court. He complained in the next place of the pope's too great dilatorineſs, in ſeconding him in ſo juſt a proſecution, and repreſented to him in terms which carried an air of reproach, that God abhorred nothing ſo much as the lukewarm; that to be ſlow in puniſhing the crimes of the accuſed, was giving a kind of conſent to them; that inſtead of interdicting the biſhops as he had done, the diſcharge of the eſſential functions of their dignity, he ought on the contrary to excite their zeal for the extirpation of ſo corrupt an order; and that after all theſe prelates were called, as well as himſelf, to ſhare in the care of the church of God. That prince, jealous of the rights of epiſcopacy goes on in theſe words: "It would be a cruel injuſtice, "moſt holy father, to theſe prelates, which God for- "bid, to inhibit them the exerciſe of a miniſtry, which "they have received immediately from him, and de- "prive them of the right they have to defend the faith. "Neither have they merited ſo unjuſt treatment, nor "can they ſuffer it, or we ourſelves wink at it, with- "out violating the oath we took at our coronation. "'Twould be a moſt crying ſin indeed to throw ſuch "a contempt on thoſe whom God has ſent. For our "Lord ſaith, he that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me. Who "then, holy father, continues this prince, is the ſa- "crilegious wretch, that dares adviſe you to deſpiſe "theſe prelates, or rather Jeſus Chriſt, who has ſent "them?" The king concludes this ſmart letter with ſome maxims and expreſſions that are ſtill ſeverer. He affirms, that the pope is ſubject to the laws of his predeceſſors[a], ſo far, adds he, that ſome have maintained, that

[a] Dupuy. ibid.

that the pope may be involved, ipſo facto, in a canon or ſentence paſſed on a matter of faith.

THIS letter, taken from the royal records of France, by Peter Dupuy, ſhews us how impatient the king was at the leaſt delay in this affair. The conduct he had obſerved, in regard to pope Boniface, making his ſucceſſor apprehenſive of drawing upon his back a prince, reſolute and incapable of ever deſiſting from what he had once taken in hand, Clement found himſelf obliged to yield to a temper, and relax ſomewhat of the formalities of law. The affair was accommodated by the endeavours of the two cardinals, and a good harmony reſtored between the ſpiritual and temporal powers. It was agreed, that the king ſhould put the perſons and effects of the templars into the hands of the pope's nuncio, which was executed immediately, tho' they were ſtill guarded by the king's ſubjects.

BUT for form ſake, and to pleaſe the pope, it was ſaid, that they were guarded in his name, and in the name of the church. Much the ſame method was obſerved with regard to their effects, and the perſons in whoſe hands they were depoſited. Every thing indeed was adminiſtred in the pope's name, but among the adminiſtrators were William Piſdoue and Rene Bourdon, valets de chambre to the king [a]; which ſhews plainly, that in this whole affair, there was nothing but the ſtile and form of the ſequeſtration changed. The king, in return for ſo ſlight a ſatisfaction, required the pope to take off his confeſſor's ſuſpenſion, and to allow that dominican ſtill to aſſiſt in the proſecution and trial of the templars. "Though this be in "contradiction to my own authority," ſays Clement, in one of his bulls [b], "yet I give the king my word, "ſince he will have it ſo, that the inquiſitor ſhall be "ſuffered to proceed with the ordinaries; but this upon "condition," adds the pope, "that no biſhop ſhall ex- "amine any templars but ſuch as are private members "of the order, and belong to his own dioceſe; and "that

[a] Dupuy, p. 15. [b] Dupuy, p. 1.

" that thoſe knights ſhall not be judged but by me-
" tropolitans, and in a council of each province:
" and that none of thoſe prelates ſhall take cogniſance
" of the general ſtate of the whole order, or of what
" relates to the perſon of the grand maſter, and prin-
" cipal officers of the order, the examination and judg-
" ment whereof I reſerve, ſays he, to myſelf, and to
" the holy ſee."

THE pope and the king being agreed, began in concert to carry on the proſecution of the templars. The priſons were crowded with theſe knights, who, excepting ſuch as pleaded guilty, were all put to the moſt violent torture. Nothing was to be heard but the cries and groans of ſuch as had their fleſh torn off with burning pincers, or were broken and diſmembered on the rack. A great number, to avoid ſuch inhumane tortures, confeſſed at once all that was required of them; but there was alſo abundance of thoſe templars, who, in the midſt of the moſt horrible torments, maintained with an invincible firmneſs and obſtinacy, that they were innocent. The different, and indeed contradictory manner, in which ſeveral authors have related theſe facts, has left poſterity the moſt impenetrable piece of hiſtory that ever ſuffered by the malice or negligence of hiſtorians.

THE pope being minded to take cogniſance of this affair, examined ſeventy two templars himſelf, who confeſſed themſelves guilty; and a knight of the order, who was alſo an officer of that pontiff's, owned to him, as he ſays, ingenuouſly all the inquity he had diſcovered among his brethren. The pope, after this, ordered the grand maſter, the great priors, and the principal commanders of France, Gaſcogny, Normandy, Aquitain and Poitou, to be brought before him. "We
" have ordered them, ſays he, in one of his bulls, to
" be removed to Poitiers, but ſome of them being ſick
" at Chinon in Touraine, ſo that they are not able to
" travel on horſeback, or to bear any other method of
" conveyance whatſoever; we have appointed the car-
" dinals Berenge, Stephen and Landulfe to take their

" exa-

"examination." 'Tis very probable, that thoſe knights who could not be brought to Poitiers on horſeback, or in any other manner, were ſuch as had been broken on the rack.

THE grand maſter, as it is ſaid, owned at Poitiers moſt of the crimes charged upon his order. There are ſome hiſtorians that ſay, he had made the like confeſſion before at Paris, and in conſequence of that had even wrote a circular letter to all his knights, exhorting them to imitate him in his confeſſion and repentance. The commiſſioners of the holy ſee, at their return from Chinon, delivered the verbal proceſs or report of this confeſſion to the pope and the king. That prince was returned to Poitiers, to ſollicit the more effectually the condemnation of the whole body of the templars, and obtain from the pope the utter extinction of the order.

BUT while they were taking their meaſures for this purpoſe, and laying the main ſtreſs of their proceedings upon the confeſſions of a great number of templars, they were ſurprized to hear, that moſt of thoſe knights had recanted their confeſſions, and declared, they were extorted from them by force of torments; that they openly deteſted the pardon which the king's officers tendered them, and that they looked upon it as the price of falſehood and the ſcandalous recompence of a prevarication that was equally prejudicial to their honour and their conſcience.

IN the mean time, the kings of England, Caſtile, Arragon and Sicily, the count of Provence, and moſt of the princes of Chriſtendom, and even the archbiſhops of Italy, had, at the pope's inſtances, cauſed all the templars in their dominions to be apprehended. Garriſons at the ſame time had been put into their commandries, all their effects had been ſeized, and continual preparations were making in all quarters to carry on the proſecution againſt them.

THE templars of Arragon took refuge immediately in ſome fortreſſes[a], which they had built at their own expence

[a] Zurita, l. 5. c. 73.

expence to defend the country againſt the incurſions of the Moors, from whence they wrote to the pope in their own juſtification. They remonſtrated to him, that their faith was pure, and had never fallen under the leaſt ſuſpicion; that they had often ſealed the confeſſion of it with their blood; that great numbers of their brethren, at this very time, when they were ſo barbarouſly perſecuted, were actually groaning under a grievous ſlavery among the Moors, who were daily offering them their liberty, if they would but change their religion; ſo that, ſay they to the ſovereign pontiff, the templars, who are ſlaves to the infidels, are expoſed to the moſt cruel tortures as being Chriſtians; and yet, at the ſame time, Chriſtian princes burn them as infidels: that if any of their order had acknowledged the commiſſion of enormous crimes, whether they did ſo thro' a ſenſe of guilt, or only to deliver themſelves from the tortures of the rack, they deſerved to be puniſhed either as criminals, or as men that were baſe enough to betray their conſcience, the honour of their order, and the ſacredneſs of truth: but that a noble order, which for two ages had done ſuch ſervices to the church, ought not to ſuffer for the crimes of ſome particular members, and the weakneſs or prevarication of others. They add, that their great poſſeſſions were the true cauſe of the perſecutions they ſuffered, and beſeech the pope, that, in imitation of his predeceſſors, he would vouchſafe to honour them with his protection, or that they might be allowed to defend their innocence themſelves with the point of their ſwords, according to the cuſtom of that time, and the duties of knighthood, againſt ſuch profligate wretches as ſhould defame them.

IT is not known what anſwer the pope made to their petition: we only learn from hiſtory, that James II. who was then upon the throne of Aragon, beſieged them in the caſtles whither they were retired; that he made himſelf maſter of thoſe places; that he appropriated them to himſelf, and ſent the templars into different priſons, where the biſhop of Valentia had orders from the pope to proſecute them.

PREPARATIONS were made at Paris for carrying on the like proceedings againſt them. Moſt of the priſoners were removed [a] thither; but their recanting the firſt confeſſion they had made, and aſcribing it to the violence of the rack, or the fear of torture, put the judges to a nonplus. A great conſultation was held on this ſubject, and it was long debated, whether they ſhould take any notice of their proteſtations. At laſt, by a very ſingular deciſion, it was reſolved to treat all that had recanted their firſt confeſſion as heretics relapſed, and as perſons that had renounced Jeſus Chriſt. Purſuant to this determination, the grand maſter de Molay was brought again before the commiſſioners. They asked him, if he had any thing to ſay in defence of his knights. He replied, that he would freely undertake their defence, and ſhould be infinitely pleaſed to maintain the innocence of his order to the face of the whole world; but that he was an illiterate knight, i. e. he could neither write nor read, as was the caſe of moſt of the gentry at that time. He deſired the liberty of having council, "though, ſays he, they have not "left me four deniers to defray the expence of ſuch a "proſecution."

THE commiſſioners replied, that in a proſecution for hereſy, the accuſed were never allowed the benefit of council, or the aſſiſtance of an advocate; that before he undertook this defence he would do well to conſider ſeriouſly what he was about; that he ought eſpecially to remember the confeſſion that he had made himſelf at Chinon of his own crimes and thoſe of his order; and then the confeſſion was read over to him. Never was aſtoniſhment equal to that of the grand maſter. When he heard it read, he made the ſign of the croſs, and cried out, that if the three cardinals, before whom he

[a] Eodem anno templarii omnes qui erant in regno Franciæ mittuntur Pariſiis. Multi eorum revocant quod dixerant. Movetur quæſtio contra eos, utrum talis revocatio poſſet dici relapſio, & judicatur contra eos quòd ſic. Unde pariſiis comburuntur quinquaginta quatuor, ſtantibus eis in propoſito quòd veri Catholici eſſent. Ex ſecunda vita Clementis V. pag. 37.

he had appeared at Chinon, and who had ſubſcribed his examination, were of any other quality, he knew well what he ſhould ſay. As the commiſſioners preſſed him to explain himſelf more openly, being no longer maſter of his reſentment, he added, that they deſerved the ſame puniſhment that the Sarazens and Tartars inflict on liars and perſons guilty of forgery, whoſe bellies, ſays he, they rip up, and cut off their heads[a].

YET it is plain, by the inſtruments and records of this proſecution, that before the meeting of Chinon, and in hopes of the impunity which the pope and king had promiſed him, he had, on two occaſions, confeſſed part of the crimes laid to his charge. But it is probable, that the ſecretary or regiſter, who drew up his confeſſion at Chinon, had, to improve the charge, and render him more criminal, added ſeveral aggravating circumſtances to it: perhaps too he had enlarged his confeſſion with all the crimes which were in general imputed to the whole order, and to conceal the fraud, had not read it over to him.

BUT be that as it will; the grand maſter, without explaining himſelf more diſtinctly upon the ſubject of his confeſſion, thought fit only to urge, that the pope had reſerved to himſelf the cogniſance of what related to him, and inſiſted upon being ſent to him. He added, that with regard to his order, he ſhould only mention three things in their favour: "firſt, that, excepting cathedral churches, there was not one in all "Chriſtendom where divine ſervice was celebrated "with more devotion, or where there were a greater "number of relicks, or richer ornaments. Secondly, "That in all their commandries they gave a general "alms thrice a week. Thirdly, That there was not "any order or nation where knights and gentlemen "expoſed their lives more freely for the defence of "Chriſtianity, than the templars had always done." The commiſſioners told him, that all this was uſeleſs without faith. But he replied, that the templars believed

[a] Dupuy, p. 42.

lieved assuredly all that the catholic church believed, and that it was to maintain this holy belief, that such a number of those knights had shed their blood against the Sarazens, the Turks and the Moors.

BROTHER Peter de Bologna, a priest; and procurator general of the order, represented to the commissioners, that promises of impunity, and threats of torments, had been equally made use of to obtain an acknowledgment of the crimes imputed to his brethren; that they had been told, that their order was tacitly given up already to destruction, and the pope was to abolish it solemnly in council. The letters patent, with the king's seal upon them, had been shewed to several prisoners, wherein, in case of their confession, they were promised life, liberty, and a pension, as long as they lived, and that such as could not be seduced by these promises, had been constrained by violent tortures: that it was much less surprizing, that frail men, to save themselves from torments, should speak according to the intention of those that tormented them, than it was to see such numbers of the templars endure with constancy the most dreadful tortures, rather than betray the truth: that many of these knights were dead in dungeons, of the tortures they had suffered on the rack, and he desired, that their executioners and jailers might be examined to give an account of the sentiments wherein they died, and declare whether it was not true, that they had persisted to the last gasp, when men have nothing more to hope for, or fear, in averring their own innocence, and that of their order in general. Then he besought the commissioners to summon before them a templar, called brother Adam de Valincourt, who had passed from their order to that of the Chartreux, out of a desire of greater perfection, but not being able to support the austerities of these latter, had petitioned to be again admitted into the order of the templars. He added, that the superiors and brethren of that knight, had looked upon his first change as apostasy; that they had obliged him, before they would receive him, to present himself at the door of

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the temple in a white ſheet; that after his reſuming the habit of the order, they had condemned him to eat upon the ground for a whole year, to faſt upon bread and water on wedneſdays and fridays every week, and to undergo the diſcipline every ſunday from the hands of the prieſt that officiated. The procurator demanded, if it was probable, that this templar ſhould return to them from the Chartreux, and ſubmit to a correction and penance ſo long and auſtere, if he had diſcovered among his brethren of the order all the abominations that had been alledged to blacken their character; and inſiſted to be heard with his ſuperiors, and the deputies of the whole ſociety in a full council, in order, ſaid he, to demonſtrate our innocence to the face of all Chriſtendom.

NOTWITHSTANDING this defence, they proceeded to paſs ſentence. Some were entirely acquitted; others were condemned to a canonical penance, after which they were to be ſet at liberty. Theſe were ſuch as adhered to the confeſſion of their faults, and had, to ſhew their abhorrence of the order, laid aſide the habit, and ſhaved the long beards, which they wore in conformity to the cuſtom of the eaſtern nations. The templars, on the contrary, who had revoked their firſt confeſſion, and perſiſted in the proteſtations they had made of their innocence, were treated with exceſſive rigour. Fifty nine of them, among whom there was a chaplain of the king's, were degraded as relapſed heretics, by the biſhop of Paris, and delivered over to the ſecular arm. They were carried out of the gate of S. Antoine and burnt alive at a ſlow fire. All of them, in the midſt of the flames, called upon the holy name of God, and, what is more ſurprizing, there was not one of theſe fifty nine, that, to ſave himſelf from ſo dreadful an execution, would accept of the pardon which their relations and friends offered them in the king's name, provided they would renounce their proteſtations.

THERE were great numbers of them, in ſeveral other parts of France, that ſhewed the ſame firmneſs in the midſt of the flames: they burnt them, but they could

never extort from them an acknowledgment of the crimes laid to their charge. "A thing aſtoniſhing indeed, ſays the biſhop of Lodeve, a cotemporary hiſtorian, that all thoſe unfortunate perſons, who were executed in the moſt terrible manner, gave no other reaſon for their retraction but the ſhame and remorſe they felt, for having, through the violence of the rack, confeſſed crimes of which they pretended to be innocent [a]."

THE king, who had the affair of the templars exceedingly at heart, as the pope ſays of him, and the hiſtorians of that time agree, repaired to Vienna in Dauphiny at the time fixed by the pontiff's bull, and came thither attended by Louis his eldeſt ſon, king of Navarre, in right of his mother, by Philip and Charles, brothers to that young prince, by Charles de Valois [b], and Louis count d'Eureux, their uncles and the king's brothers. That prince appeared in this auguſt aſſembly with a great court; others ſay, with a numerous body of troops, to ſhew his power, and command reſpect. There were preſent in the council above three hundred biſhops, without reckoning the abbots, priors, and moſt famous doctors of Chriſtendom.

THE firſt ſeſſion was held the ſixteenth of October, A. D. 1311, wherein the pope laid before them the three reaſons for calling the council: 1. The affair of the templars. 2. The recovery of the Holy Land. 3. The reformation of manners, and of the diſcipline of the church. We ſhall confine ourſelf to what particularly concerned the templars, and the part which the knights of Rhodes came afterwards to have in this great affair.

IN the firſt place, the pope cauſed to be read, in full council, the proceedings carried on in ſeveral provinces,

[a] Unum autem mirandum fuit, quòd omnes & ſinguli eorum confeſſiones ſuas quas prius jurati fecerant in judicio retractarunt, dicentes ſe falſo fuiſſe confeſſos, nullam ſuper hoc reddentes cauſam aliam niſi vim aut metum tormentorum quòd de ſe talia faterentur. Ex ſecunda vita Clementis V.

[b] Baluzius in vitis paparum Avenion.

ces, againſt different knights of the temple; and after this was over, he demanded of each of the fathers, in his turn, if they did not think it proper to ſuppreſs an order, wherein they had diſcovered ſuch crying abuſes, and ſuch enormous crimes[a]. An Italian prelate, addreſſing himſelf to the pope, preſſed him to aboliſh immediately, and without any formality, an order, againſt which, he ſaid, above two thouſand witneſſes had depoſed in various parts of Chriſtendom. But all the biſhops and archbiſhops of the council, and the moſt eminent doctors, repreſented unanimouſly to the pope, that before he ſuppreſſed an illuſtrious order, which, from the time of its foundation, had rendered very important ſervices to Chriſtendom, they were of opinion, the grand maſter and principal perſons of the order, ought to be heard in their own defence, as juſtice required, and they themſelves had ſo earneſtly requeſted in many petitions.

THE hiſtorians of that time tell us, that all the Italian biſhops but one were of this opinion, as were alſo thoſe of Spain, Germany, Denmark, England, Scotland and Ireland; that all the prelates of France alſo were of the ſame ſentiment, except the archbiſhops of Rheims, Sens and Roan[b]; ſo that in a council, compoſed of above three hundred biſhops, there were but four that gave their opinion contrary to this motion; and, if I may venture to ſay ſo, contrary to the firſt principles of natural equity.

THE audience which they inſiſted on in favour of the accuſed very much perplexed the pope, who ſaw plainly what would be the conſequence of it. Whatever

[a] P. Dupuy.

[b] Interim autem vocantur prælati cum cardinalibus ad conferendum de templariis: leguntur acta ipſorum inter prælatos; & in hoc conveniunt requiſiti à pontifice ſigillatim, ut det templariis audientiam, ſive defenſionem. In hâc ſententiâ concordant omnes prælati Italiæ præter unum Hiſpaniæ, Theutoniæ, Daniæ, Angliæ, Scotiæ & Hyberniæ; item Gallici, præter tres metropolitanos, videlicet, Remenſem, Senonenſem & Rotomagenſem. Hoc autem actum eſt ſive actitatum in principio Decembris. Ex ſecunda vita Clementis V. p. 43. Autore Ptolomæo Lucenſi.

ever authority he was invested with, he was still sensible that it would be difficult for him to wave hearing them upon the various causes they had of exception, or to refuse the right of being confronted with their accusers, and the witnesses against them; proceedings which would all take up a great deal of time, and leave the issue of the prosecution uncertain.

THE affair was spun out to the length of six months, all that time being probably employed in conferences, and perhaps in secret negotiations, to persuade the prelates to dispense with the ordinary forms, in a matter that seemed plain enough already[a]. At least, Alberic de Rosate, a celebrated lawyer, informs us, that upon the fathers of the council maintaining that they could not condemn the accused without hearing them, the pope cried out, that if they could not give a judicial sentence against the templars, for want of such a formality, the plenitude of the papal authority should supply every defect, and he would condemn them in a summary way, rather than offend his dear son the king of France[b].

ACCORDINGLY the pope, on the 22d of May, in the following year, having first, in a private consistory, secured the cardinals and several bishops, who, out of complaisance, came over to this side of the question, held the second session of the council with great solemnity, and therein dissolved and annulled the order of the templars[c]. And though we could not, says he, in his sentence, give judgment in form of law, we condemn them by way of provision, and by our apostolical authority, reserving to ourself and the holy church of Rome, the disposal of the persons and estates of the templars.

1312.

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[a] Les meditations de Camerarius, v. 3. l. 5. c. 4.

Et si viâ justitiæ ordo ille destrui non possit, fiat tamen viâ expedientiæ, ne scandalisetur carus filius noster rex Galliæ.

[b] Summus pontifex multis prælatis cum cardinalibus coram se in privato consistorio convocatis, per provisionem potiùs quam condemnationis viam, ordinem templariorum cassavit, & penitus annullavit. Quarta vita Clementis V. p. 85. Autore quodam Veneto coætaneo.

THERE was nothing wanting now but the determination of the council, in regard to the uſe and diſpoſal of thoſe great eſtates. The pope, who was apprehenſive that moſt princes would, in their own territories, ſeize upon what lay convenient for them, repreſented, that theſe eſtates having been conſecrated to the defence of the holy places, and the pilgrims that viſited them, they could not put them to a better uſe than by giving them to the knights of Rhodes, who were devoted to thoſe holy functions, and had lately given new proofs of their zeal and courage, by the conqueſt of the iſle of Rhodes[a]. But the partiſans of France inſiſted loudly on the creation of a new order, and uniting the whole order of St. John to it. They ſaid, that ſuch an augmentation of the eſtates of thoſe knights, would only ſerve to plunge them into the ſame irregularities, which had juſt occaſioned the condemnation of the templars; and that under colour of taking poſſeſſion of them, they would be immediately diſperſed all over Europe, and, it was to be feared, would adopt the pride, the haughtineſs, the luxury and diſſoluteneſs of the templars.

THE pope, who, by this creation of a royal order, and ſuppreſſion of all others, ſaw they were going to withdraw all the military friars in Europe and Aſia from under his authority, ſtrenuouſly rejected the propoſal; and, to refute the reaſons of ſuch as were for it, he declared, that he would be anſwerable himſelf for reforming the order, both in its head and particular members, if ſuch a reformation ſhould be thought neceſſary; that he would not ſuffer any knight to continue

[a] Priuſquam concilium ſolveretur, poſt habitos tractatus varios de bonis templariorum, quibus vel ad quos uſus eſſent potius applicanda, quibuſdam conſentientibus, quod nova religio, ad quam applicarentur eſſet fundanda, aliis alia dicentibus, tandem provi dit apoſtolica ſedes, regibus & prælatis aſſentientibus, eadem in favorem Terræ Sanctæ integraliter ad fratres hoſpitales devolvi, ut ad ejuſdem terræ recuperationem ſive ſubſidium poſſent effici fortiores ex ipſis: ſed ut apparuit proceſſu temporis facti ſunt detentores. Contin. Guill. de Nangis, p. 646.

tinue in the weſt, excepting ſuch as were old and infirm, and appointed to take care of the commandries; that he would cauſe an exact valuation to be made of the revenues of the order, that he might the better regulate the number of the knights, and the expence to be allowed for their ſubſiſtence, and that all the reſidue ſhould be employed for the relief of pilgrims, and the defence of Chriſtian ſtates; all admirable projects, but they were never put in execution.

THE bare promiſes of this pontiff[a] brought moſt of the fathers of the council over to his opinion; but the king of France ſeemed to come into this propoſal with great reluctance. That prince, who was prejudiced againſt the hoſpitallers, inſiſted upon the pope's propoſal for a reformation, and that proper meaſures ſhould be immediately taken for that purpoſe; that the grand maſter and all his knights ſhould be comprehended in it, and that they ſhould be obliged to make themſelves for the future as agreeable to the body of biſhops as they had ever till then been oppoſite to them. Which may induce us to believe, that their ancient differences with the biſhops of Paleſtine were well enough known in France. All the eſtates of the templars were adjudged to the knights of Rhodes, except ſuch as lay in Spain, which, by a particular appointment, were to be applied to the defence of the country againſt the Moors, who were ſtill in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Granada.

AT length, after the diſſolution of the council, and in the year following, came on the laſt act of 1313. this tragedy, in which the fate of the grand maſter, and dignitaries of the order, ſtiled the great preceptors, or the great commanders, was to be decided. The pope had reſerved the cognizance of their caſe to himſelf, and in conſideration of their confeſſion, had promiſed them an entire impunity. But at his return from the council, whether he had changed his

[a] See the letter of Philip the Fair to Clement V. dated Auguſt 24th 1312. Dupuy, condemnation des templiers, p. 178 & 179.

his ſentiments, or was minded not to condemn them himſelf, he appointed two cardinals to ſit as judges upon them, who, by his orders, repaired to Paris, and took for their co-aſſeſſors there the archbiſhop of Sens, and ſome other prelates of the Gallican church. Theſe commiſſioners of the pope, ordered the prevôt of Paris to bring before them James de Molay, grand maſter of the templars, a dignity, ſays M. Dupuy, which put him on the level with princes, having, in that quality, had the honour of being godfather to one of the king's children. The ſecond of theſe priſoners was Guy, brother to the dauphin of Viennois, ſovereign prince of Dauphiny. The third was Hugh de Peralde; great prior or viſitor of the priory of France; and the fourth was the great prior of Aquitain, who, before his impriſonment, had the management of the king's exchequer and revenues.

IT nowhere appears, from the inſtruments and records of this famous proſecution, that theſe prelates examined or interrogated them anew, or that they confronted them with witneſſes. And though ſuch a method of proceeding was according to the ordinary forms and courſe of the law, yet, it is probable, the commiſſioners were reſolved to conform themſelves to the conduct which the pope and council had obſerved before them. They contented themſelves with the acknowledgment made by the priſoners before the pope and the king, of the crimes laid to their charge; and it was upon this acknowledgment, purſuant to the intentions of the ſovereign pontiff, that the judges determined between themſelves to condemn them only to perpetual impriſonment, in caſe they ſtood to their firſt confeſſion. But as it was a matter of great conſequence to calm the minds of the people, who were ſhocked at the vaſt number of fires that had been lighted up in the ſeveral provinces of the kingdom, and it behoved them above all things to convince the people of Paris, that it was with juſtice that ſo many templars had been condemned to be burnt alive, they required of theſe four laſt, who were the chief among them, to make a public

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and ſincere declaration of all the abuſes and crimes committed in the order, if they had a mind to ſave their lives, or expected that the pope and the king ſhould keep their word with them. For this purpoſe, a ſcaffold was erected in the court before the cathedral church, and the ſheriffs men and ſoldiers brought the priſoners upon it. Then one of the legates ſtood up, and opened the diſmal ceremony with a diſcourſe, wherein he enlarged upon all the impieties and abominations, of which, he ſaid, the templars had been convicted by their own acknowledgment. And to leave the audience no room to doubt, he called upon the grand maſter and his companions, to renew, in the hearing of the people, the confeſſion which they had made before the pope of their crimes and errors.

'TWAS in all probability to induce them to make this declaration, that on the one hand he aſſured them of a full amneſty, and on the other the executioners, to intimidate them, erected a pile of wood, as if they were to be burnt the moment that they revoked their confeſſion.

THE priors of France and Aquitain, either out of ſincerity or fear, at the ſight of ſo dreadful a puniſhment, perſiſted in their firſt confeſſion. But when it came to the grand maſter's turn to ſpeak, that priſoner, ſhaking his chains, advanced, to their great ſurprize, with a countenance full of reſolution, to the edge of the ſcaffold, and then raiſing his voice to be the better heard, "It is but juſt, cries he[a], that in this terrible "day, and in the laſt moments of my life, I lay open "the iniquity of falſhood, and make truth to triumph. "I declare then, in the face of heaven and earth, and "I own, though to my eternal ſhame and confuſion, "that I have committed the greateſt of crimes; but it "has been only in acknowledging thoſe that have been "charged with ſo much virulence upon an order which "truth obliges me now to declare innocent. I made "the firſt declaration they required of me, only to ſuſ-

"pend

[a] Villani, lib. 8. c. 92. Pap. Maſſ. in Phil. Pulch. Sabell. Ænead. 9. lib. 7.

" pend the exceſſive tortures of the rack, and mollify " thoſe that made me endure 'em. I am very ſenſible " what torments they inflict, and what executions they " prepare for thoſe that have the courage to revoke " ſuch a confeſſion; but the horrible ſight they offer " to my eyes, is not capable of making me confirm a " falſe lye by a ſecond. On a condition ſo infamous as " that, I freely renounce life, which is already but too " odious to me. And what good would it do to me to " ſpin out a few miſerable days, when I muſt owe 'em " only to the blackeſt of calumnies[a]."

HE would have gone on, but was interrupted. The brother of the Dauphin of Viennois, who came next, ſpoke after the ſame manner, and with the ſtrongeſt aſſeverations, bore teſtimony to the innocence of his order. The legate, upon this occaſion, did by no means gain the applauſe of the people, but he ſoon had his revenge. The grand maſter and his companions were brought down from the ſcaffold, and the Prevôt of Paris carried them back to the priſon. The king, who was revengeful in his nature, and looked upon the deſtruction of the templars as his own work, being

[a] Sunt auctores non obſcuri, Jacobum Burgundionem, ordinis principem, cum productus ad ſupplicium, circumfuſa ingenti multitudine, dum pyra extruitur, ſtaret, propoſitâ vitæ ſpe ac impunitate, ſi quæ in cuſtodiâ falſus de ſe fuiſque eſſet, nunc quoque confeſſus, veniam publicè peteret, hujuſmodi verba feciſſe, " Ego " nunc ſupremis rebus meis, cum locum mendacio dari nefas ſit, " ex animo, veréque fateor me ingens in me meoſque ſcelus con- " feciſſe, ultimaque ſupplicia cum ſummo cruciatu promeriſſe, " qui in gratiam quorum minimè decuit, dulcedineque vitæ, fla- " gitia impia, ſceleraque, ad tormenta mentitus ſum in ordinem " meum, de religione Chriſtiana optimè meritum. Nec mihi " nunc vita opus eſt precaria & novo ſuper vetus mendacio reten- " ta."

Exin rogo impoſitum, ac admoto paulatim primoribus pedibus, ad exprimendam ſcelerum confeſſionem, ne tunc quidem cùm reliquo corpore depaſto vitalia fœdo nidore torrerentur, ab hujus orationis conſtantia deſciviſſe, aut mutatæ mentis ullam ſignificationem præbuiſſe, neque ipſum, neque duos cum ipſo ſupplicio affectos nobiliſſimos ejus ordinis viros, quorum alter eſſet Delphini Allobrogis frater. Paul. Emil. in Philip. Pulch.

incenſed at this recantation of the chiefs of the order, cauſed them to be burnt alive the ſame day with a ſlow fire, in a little iſle of the Seine between that prince's garden and the convent of the Auguſtines. The grand maſter, in the midſt of that exquiſite torment, ſhewed to his laſt moment the ſame firmneſs that he had done in the court of the cathedral, and expreſſed himſelf in the ſame manner. He repeated his proteſtations of the innocence of his order; but declared, that as to himſelf he deſerved to ſuffer, for having averred the contrary in the pope and the king's preſence. Mezeray tells us, that he had read an account of this affair, in which it is ſaid, that the grand maſter, when he had no other liberty left him but that of ſpeech, and was almoſt ſtifled with the ſmoke, cried out aloud, "Clement, "thou unrighteous judge and barbarous executioner, "I ſummon thee to appear in forty days before the "judgment-ſeat of God." Some writers ſay, that he ſummoned the king likeways to appear there within a year. Perhaps the death of that prince and the pope, which happened preciſely within thoſe terms, gave occaſion afterwards to the ſtory of this ſummons. The two great priors of France and Aquitain, ended their days in priſon. But Paulus Æmilius ſays, that one of them was burnt with the grand maſter and the Dauphin of Viennois's brother; if ſo, it was in all likelihood, becauſe he retracted after their example.

ALL the people ſhed tears at the tragical ſpectacle of theſe holy knights; and ſeveral devout perſons, as Papirius Maſſon relates[a], gathered up their aſhes, preſerving them afterwards as precious relicks. As for the two wretches that were the authors of this diſmal cataſtrophe, they periſhed miſerably ſoon after. One was hanged for freſh crimes, and the other was aſſaſſinated by his enemies.

We do not pretend to draw any inference from theſe facts. There is too much variety in the ancient hiſtorians, and too much partiality in the modern, to be able

[a] Liv. 3. p. 203.

able to pronounce on either ſide with certainty. Among the latter, ſome complain, that the templars were accuſed and indicted for holding a criminal correſpondence with Saladine, whereas, ſay they, after the battle of Tiberias, that victorious prince cut off the heads of all the templars that he had taken priſoners, as may be ſeen in this hiſtory; which is hardly conſiſtent with ſuch a pretended correſpondence.

NOR do they find any greater probability in the accuſation brought againſt them of having ſold the town of St. John d'Acre to one of Saladine's ſucceſſors; ſince it is plain, from all the cotemporary writers, that three hundred templars died in the defence of this place; that their grand maſter de Beaujeu was killed on the breach; and that there eſcaped out of the maſſacre, when the town was taken, only ten of his knights, who got into a bark, and ſailed to Cyprus.

As for the ſins againſt chaſtity, and ſuch as nature itſelf abhors, theſe writers maintain, that no ſtreſs ought to be laid on their confeſſion; that, on the one hand, they were offered a general pardon, with the promiſe of life, liberty, and a good penſion, and, on the other, they ſaw fires kindled to burn them; and that it is no wonder if frail men ſhrink, and are intimidated at the apprehenſions of ſo terrible an execution.

OTHER hiſtorians of different ſentiments maintain on the contrary[a], that it is impoſſible to reflect on the courſe of the proſecution, the infinite number of witneſſes, as well templars as others, the quality of the judges, the agreement of the accuſations brought againſt theſe knights in all the kingdoms of Chriſtendom, the quality too of the perſons guilty, the teſtimony of ſeveral foreign hiſtorians, the little inclination that the pope had at firſt to condemn them, and what paſſed in the council of Vienne; that it is impoſſible, I ſay, to reflect on the nature and number of theſe different circumſtances, without being perſuaded of the juſtice of their condemnation. 'Tis very probable, ſays Mariana the Jeſuit, that they were not all innocent, nor yet

[a] Rainaldi ad annum 1313. n. 39.

all guilty[a]. This is the judgment of that judicious hiſtorian, who obſerves, that the puniſhments inflicted on them ſeemed cruel to abundance of people, and that it was ſcarce probable, that theſe irregularities ſhould have infected all the particulars of ſo large a body, diſperſed over all Chriſtendom, but that the extinction of ſo famous an order, ought to ſerve for an inſtruction to others of the ſame kind, and teach them not to depend ſo much on their riches, as on the practice of thoſe virtues that are ſuitable to their profeſſion, in order to avoid falling into the like misfortunes.

THOUGH the knights of Rhodes had no hand in this ſurpriſing revolution, yet ſince the univerſal church, aſſembled in the council of Vienne, had thought fit to beſtow the eſtates and effects of the templars upon their order, the grand maſter did not think he ought to refuſe them. For this reaſon he called a council, to conſider what methods were proper to be uſed, in order to get poſſeſſion of them; and it was reſolved to ſend ample powers to ſuch of the principal commanders in the weſt, as were noted for their capacity and prudence, to treat with the ſeveral ſovereigns of Europe, about an affair of ſuch importance, and which might be attended with great difficulties in the execution. For this purpoſe, the grand maſter and council drew up a formal inſtrument, in the nature of a procuration, wherein they declared, that being informed of the diſpoſal, which the pope and the holy council had made of the eſtates of the templars in favour of the order of St. John, and that it was the intention of the church that theſe eſtates ſhould be employed, as well for the convoy and defence of pilgrims, as for the recovery of the Holy Land, they had, by common conſent, choſen brother Albert Lallemand de Chateau-noir, grand preceptor, or grand commander, whoſe wiſdom and capacity the order had long experienced, to be procurator-general and lieutenant of the maſterſhip in Europe; and that the council had thought proper to join in commiſſion with him, brother Richard de Ravelink, draper; brother Philip

[a] Mariana l. 25. c. 10.

Philip de Grangana, prior of Rome; brother Leonard de Tibertis, prior of Venice, and procurator-general in the court of Rome; brother Henry de Mainieres; brother Arnald de Soliers, and brother Arnald de Chavaneuf, both companions or aſſiſtants of the grand maſter; brother Durand de la Prevôté, preceptor of Montchalix, and brother Sauveur d'Aurillac; and that the grand commander might uſe the aſſiſtance of all theſe knights, either jointly or ſeparately, to go and take poſſeſſion of the eſtates and effects granted to the order, to receive them from the hands of the adminiſtrators, and to give a good and ſufficient diſcharge for the ſame.

'TWAS expreſsly mentioned in the ſame inſtrument, that the revenues of the order of St. John being conſiderably diminiſhed, and the commandries for the moſt part in a declining condition, through the negligence of the preceptors and ſtewards; upon which account there was a neceſſity for a ſpeedy viſitation and an exact reform, as well in the priorial houſes as in ſuch as depended upon them; the council appointed the ſaid brother Lallemand viſitor, inquiſitor, corrector, reformer, adminiſtrator and comptroller in ordinary of all the houſes ſituate on this ſide the ſea, as well of the antient commandries of the order of St. John, as of thoſe of the templars, which were to be conſigned to them. That the commander ſhould require an exact account of the revenues of the order, and of the uſe to which they had been applied, by the preceptors entruſted with them; that he had authority to proſecute all perſons comprehended within his commiſſion, of what dignity ſoever they were, to deprive the guilty of the commandries; ſubſtitute others in their places that were more worthy to fill them; remove the knights and ſerving brothers from one houſe to another; and even to ſend them to Rhodes if he thought fit. He was likeways empowered, by the ſame commiſſion, to admit into the order perſons of noble birth, and even yeomen, i. e. knights and ſerving brothers, to cloath them with the habit of the order; and in particular, to give the

military girdle to the knights; which plainly points out the distinction that was always made between the different members of this body; and it were to be wished, they had never confounded so just a distinction, by allowing the serving brothers to wear the golden cross, which can be of no other use but to debase the noblest branch of this illustrious order.

THIS instrument is dated at Rhodes Oct. 17th 1312, and we see at the head of the signatures, that of the grand master's, who stiles himself brother Fulk de Villaret, by the Grace of God, and the holy apostolic see, humble master of the holy house and hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and guardian of the poor of Jesus Christ. And underneath his signature, we find those of brother Thierry de Lorgne, marshal; brother Peter de Clermont, vice-hospitaller; brother Richard de Ravelink, draper; brother René de Dieu, treasurer; brother Philip de Grangana, prior of Rome; brother Martin-Pierre de Ros, prior of Messina, and Peter de St. John, preceptor of Achaia.

THE great commander and the other commissioners, in virtue of these powers, went into France to take possession of the effects and estates of the templars: but they met with great difficulties, says Rainaldi, to get these effects out of the gripping hands of some courtiers that had seized on them. The pope being informed of the various obstacles to the execution of the decree of the council, wrote, upon that occasion, to Philip the Fair, in the most pressing terms. That prince gave him a dry answer, viz. that he had never consented to make over the templars effects to the hospitallers, but upon his holiness's promise of endeavouring a necessary reformation of that order, both in its head and particular members; besides, that it was but just they should first reimburse themselves the necessary charges of the prosecution of that great affair, which he made to amount to the sum of two hundred thousand pounds; an immense sum for those times [a].

THE

[a] Cum ad hujusmodi consensum impartiendum una cum prælatis in concilio congregatis fuerimus per vos inducti, quia sanctitas

THE commiſſioners of the order ſpent a great deal of time, and were at infinite pains before they could force the ſecular adminiſtrators to quit their hold, who left no ſtone unturned to ſecure to themſelves in property what had been committed to them only in truſt. To get the commandries out of the hands of thoſe leeches, they were forced to give them great ſums of money; which, ſays St. Antonine, drained the treaſury of the order[a].

KING Philip the Fair dying after he had given the knights of Rhodes ſeiſin of the eſtates of the templars[b], Louis Hutin, his eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor, demanded ſixty thouſand pounds more than his predeceſſor had done; and to diſcharge this ſum, brother Leonard de Tibertis, one of the commiſſioners that treated with him, was forced to conſent, that he ſhould keep in his hands two thirds of the money of the templars, the ornaments of their churches, the furniture and goods of their houſes, all the profits and revenues of their lands, in a word, all their moveable effects, till the day that the hoſpitallers took poſſeſſion of their eſtates. But this prince, and the king his father, were not the only perſons that got by this rich plunder: there are ſome hiſtorians that ſay, the pope had a good ſhare of it[c].

CHARLES II. king of Naples and Sicily, and count of Provence and Forcalquier, acted much after the ſame manner in the dominions which he had in France. A great number of templars, who would not own the crimes charged upon them, were burnt there. As for their

tas veſtra diſpoſuerat & ordinaverat quòd per ſedem Apoſtolicam, ſic dictorum hoſpitalariorum ordo regularetur & reformaretur, tam in capite quàm in membris. Dupuy, p. 179.

[a] Quia jam fuerat occupata à diverſis Dominis laicis, opportuit quòd illi de hoſpitali magnum theſaurum exponerent in dando regi & aliis qui occupaverant dicta bona; unde depauperata eſt manſio hoſpitalis, quæ ſe exiſtimabat inde opulentam fieri. Ant. p. 3. t. 21. ch. 3.

[b] Traité entre les gens du roy & les hoſpitaliers, Dupuy, p. 184.

[c] M. Dupuy, p. 59.

their estates, M. Dupuy tells us, that the immoveable effects were left to the hospitallers[a]; but as for the moveable ones and money, they were confiscated and shared between the pope and this prince. But it appears that the king of Naples deferred, as long as he lived, to put the hospitallers in possession of the castles situate in that kingdom, and in Sicily. For history has conveyed down to us a letter of Clement's, wherein he exhorts king Robert, Charles's successor, to follow the example of Philip the Fair, and give up readily the possession of the landed estates that had formerly belonged to the templars; whence we may conclude, that Philip had made over those in his hands to the commissioners before he died. But the difference about the charges was not ended till the reign of his successor, as we have observed before.

THOUGH the pope, at the instance of the kings of Aragon, Castile, Portugal and Majorca, had by his bull excepted all the estates of the templars within the dominions of those princes, out of the grant made by the council of the possessions of that order to the hospitallers; yet, as he was apprehensive that these sovereigns might, upon one pretence or other, seize those estates, he issued out a new bull, excommunicating all persons of the kingdom of Majorca, that did not, within the space of one month, deliver up the commandries of the templars to the knights of Rhodes. In consequence of this bull, and to avoid incurring the censures of the church, Sanchez James, sovereign of the Baleares, put the hospitallers in possession of all the estates of the templars. But whether the bull was designed only for this prince, to whom probably the pope had directed it, as being the weakest, or whether the other Spanish sovereigns did not seem disposed to submit to it, the king of Arragon took no notice of it, and ordered his ambassadors to tell the pope, that he hoped the design of appropriating the estates of the templars to the order of the hospitallers, would not extend to his

[a] Nostradamus histoire de Provence, an. 1307.

his dominions, which he deſired might be exempted from it; and that he had been obliged for the defence and ſecurity of his ſubjects, who were continually infeſted by the Moors, to ſeize upon ſeventeen commandries of the templars, which were ſo many fortreſſes, to put troops in them for their defence, and to take at the ſame time into his hands the revenues annexed to them, to provide for the ſubſiſtence and pay of thoſe garriſons.

NOT but the knights of Rhodes were as capable of maintaining themſelves in theſe places, and of defending the frontiers, as the templars were: but it is plain, from the whole conduct of the Spaniſh princes in this affair, that their ſecret view was to have the plunder of the templars to themſelves, without any regard to the right of the hoſpitallers, and not to ſuffer thoſe great eſtates to be enjoyed by an order that was under a foreign head and grand maſter, and pretended likewiſe to hold under no ſuperior but the holy ſee.

BUT be that as it will, after many negotiations and conferences, which laſted near five years, a treaty was at laſt concluded, by the mediation of pope John XXII. ſucceſſor to Clement V. between brother Leonard de Tibertis, procurator-general of the order, and Vitalis de Villanova, the king of Arragon's miniſter, by which the knights of Rhodes not only deſiſted from their pretenſions to the eſtates of the templars, ſituate in the kingdom of Valentia, dependent on the king of Arragon, but reſigned likewiſe to the pope all the particular commandries of their own order in that kingdom, except the ſingle commandry which was in the town of Valentia, and the caſtle called the Torrent, which the order of St. John reſerved to themſelves. All the other commandries, as well thoſe of the hoſpitallers as the templars, and all the eſtates of both thoſe orders, ſituate in the kingdom of Valentia, were afterwards, at the requeſt and inſtances of the king of Arragon, granted by the pope to the order and knights of Calatrava, who fixed their chief ſeat at Monteza; and in exchange

for

for this, it was declared by the treaty, that except the ſeventeen fortreſſes of the templars on the frontiers, which the king had ſeized into his own hands, the knights of Rhodes ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of all the other commandries and eſtates that had belonged to the templars, as well in Arragon as in Catalonia. This rendered the knights of Rhodes ſo powerful in that kingdom and in Catalonia, that the caſtellan of Emposta, being not ſufficient for ſo vaſt a charge, the grand maſter and council were obliged to create a great prior for that principality. If we recollect what has been ſaid in the beginning of this work, concerning the rights and juſt pretenſions that the hoſpitallers and templars had to the crown of Arragon, in caſe of a vacancy for want of lawful heirs, we can't ſufficiently admire the good policy of brother Leonard de Tibertis, who by this treaty, upon the uniting of the rights of both orders in that of St. John alone, took care to have them ſupported by forces lying near enough together, and able to make them good whenever an opportunity offered.

As the pope's deſign in diſpoſing of the templars eſtates in favour of the hoſpitallers did not ſuit the ſecret views of Denys king of Portugal, that prince made uſe of an honourable pretext to get the ſtart of the pontiff. He inſtituted a military order, which he called the order of Chriſt, and annexed to it the eſtates of the templars in his dominions. After this ſettlement, he ſent embaſſadors to Rome, to demand of pope John XXII. a confirmation of this new order of knighthood, which the pope granted. 1318.

FERDINAND IV. king of Caſtile, did not take ſo much precaution; and though the templars had been declared innocent in a council held at Salamanca[a], this prince made no ſcruple to ſeize on their eſtates, and annexed to his demeſnes conſiderable cities which had belonged to them, and had been granted by the pope to the knights of Rhodes.

THE

[a] Zurita, l. 5. c. 101.

THE conduct which the kings of Caſtile, Arragon and Portugal, have obſerved ſince, with regard to theſe new military orders, moſt of them founded out of the ruins of that of the templars, ſhews, that the apprehenſions of the popes Clement V. and John XXII. were not altogether groundleſs. For the ſucceſſors of thoſe princes found out a way afterwards to annex the four grand maſterſhips of the orders of St. James, Calatrava, and Alcantara, and of Chriſt, to their own perſons, by the title of perpetual adminiſtrators, which brought them in immenſe revenues. To make the religious knights of theſe Spaniſh orders ſome ſort of amends, they obtained from the court of Rome, in their favour, the liberty of marrying, and of leaving off the regular habit, which they were obliged to wear, and of uſing in its ſtead a plain croſs of gold, with colours agreeable to the ancient colour of their religious habits.

EDWARD II. king of England, acted in a more noble and diſintereſted manner with regard to the order of St. John. The templars, beſides a conſiderable commandry which they had in London, enjoyed likewiſe immenſe eſtates in all the counties of that kingdom, and the prior of London ſat in parliament as firſt baron of the kingdom. Edward, being informed that the pope and council had ſubſtituted the knights of Rhodes in the room of the templars[a], ordered his officers, by his writs, the originals of which are ſtill preſerved in the tower of London, to deliver up the poſſeſſion of their eſtates to brother Albert de Chateaunoir, or l'Allemand, great commander and firſt in the commiſſion appointed by the grand maſter and council, to receive them, in conjunction with brother Leonard de Tibertis, prior of Venice, and procurator-general of the order at the court of Rome. That prince, by other writs ſtill preſerved in the ſame place, commands all ſheriffs to aid and aſſiſt in the execution of his orders, to uſe all their authority in behalf of the procurators of St. John and to cauſe, not only the eſtates in land, but

[a] Walſing. in Edw. II. p. 99.

but the fruits and corn, the produce thereof, to be delivered to them: a proceeding, that ſhews this prince would take no ſhare of the ſpoils of the templars to himſelf, to the prejudice of the knights of Rhodes.

As for Germany, the hiſtorians of that nation relate, that pope Clement V. having ſent the bull for aboliſhing the order of the templars, to the archbiſhop of Mentz to publiſh it, that prelate ſummoned all his clergy together, in order to do it with the greater ſolemnity; and that they were ſtrangely ſurprized to ſee the waltgraff, or count Sauvage, one of the principal of the order, enter into the aſſembly attended by twenty other templars, armed under their regular habits; and that the archbiſhop, either out of a charitable diſpoſition, or a natural ſenſe of fear, received them very obligingly. They add, that the archbiſhop proceeded ſo far, as to invite the count to take a ſeat in the aſſembly; that the count, on the other hand, declared to him, that he was not come to do violence to any body whatſoever; but, that being informed that he was directed to publiſh a bull of the pope's againſt their order, he inſiſted, that the appeal which they made from that decree to the next council, and the ſucceſſor of Clement, ſhould be received, read and publiſhed. The archbiſhop, to elude this demand, anſwered, that he would conſider of it; but the templars preſſed him ſo warmly, that the archbiſhop, not thinking it proper to deny men whom he ſaw armed, and in a paſſion, cauſed their appeal to be read publicly. He ſent it afterwards to the pope, who ordered him to have it examined in a council of his province[a]. Accordingly a ſynod was called, and after various formalities, which were there obſerved, the templars of that province were declared innocent of the crimes charged upon them.

NEVERTHELESS, as this grand order was at length wholly extinct[b], we are not particularly acquainted with what

[a] Mutius in Chron. l. 22. p. 211.
[b] Serrarius in Chron. Nogunt. l. 3. p. 850.

what became of their eſtates in Germany. All that appears from the hiſtorians of that nation, is, that the knights of Rhodes, and the Teutonic knights ſhared them between themſelves. 'Tis very probable, that theſe two military orders made afterwards, by way of recompence, mutual exchanges of ſome of their ancient commandries; for the Teutonic knights are actually in poſſeſſion of the commandry of Margat, which the Germans call Mergentheim, and the French Mariendal, though it is evident from hiſtory, that the hoſpitallers were the founders of it; ſome German hoſpitallers, after the loſs of the old Margat ſituate in Paleſtine, having built it on the ſame model, and given it the name of Margat, or Mergentheim, which ſignifies, the houſe of Mary, to preſerve the memory of a place, which after the loſs of Jeruſalem, was made the chief reſidence of the whole order.

The End of the Fourth Book.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Knights Hoſpitallers

OF

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Styled afterwards,

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at preſent,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

BOOK V.

THE conqueſt of the iſle of Rhodes, and the confiſcation of the great revenues of the templars, raiſed the military order of St. John to a degree of grandeur equal to that of many ſovereigns in Europe. Among the ſeveral iſlands called Sporades, this of Rhodes was the moſt conſiderable, both in regard of the fertility of its ſoil, and of the ſafety of its ports and roads, which drew commerce and plenty to it from all parts: beſides, after the knights became maſters of it, galleys and ſhips, well equipped, were ſent out from time to time, to give chace to pirates, and the knights that commanded thoſe ſquadrons

FULK DE VILLARET.

ſquadrons enriched themſelves with the prizes which they took continually from the infidels.

BUT theſe different ſources of riches, ſo advantageous in a ſtate purely ſecular, weakened inſenſibly a religious order. Its temporal power, carried to too great a length, was the occaſion afterwards of its weakneſs, and the great revenues, eſpecially of particular knights, introduced among the youngeſt of the order luxury, effeminacy, and pleaſures.

THESE military religious, upon the return of their caravans, and after their cruizing, ſpent in play, and often debauchery, what they had acquired in war, and what they ought, by their profeſſion, to have put into the common treaſury of the order. In vain did the old commanders, educated in ſevere morals, and in an exact practice of the rules of the order, repreſent to them, that the templars had been lately ruined by the like conduct: this libertine ſet of youths, proud of the reputation they daily gained in engagements, ſcarce vouchſafed to give any attention to that terrible and recent example. Theſe young untractable gentlemen flattered themſelves, that their valour would ſupply all the virtues of their profeſſion; and what was ſtill more deplorable, the grand maſter himſelf ſeemed, by his example, to authoriſe ſo ſtrange a change in the morals of his order.

VILLARET, blinded with the glory he had lately acquired by his conqueſts, was unable to ſupport too proſperous a fortune; he was eager to enjoy the fruit of his labours, and ſurrounded, as he always was, with a croud of flatterers, he ſpent his days in an inglorious ſloth: delicacy[a] and profuſeneſs prevailed at his table: all the perils of the ſea muſt be tempted to provide him

[a] Deſciverat a priſtina virtute hoſpitalariorum equitum princeps Villaretus, captaque Rhodo, non ad proferendum Chriſti cultum in Syriam extulerat mentem, ſed in delicias abjecerat: præteritiſque inſoleſcens victoriis, intentuſque privatæ rei, publicas curas ſpernebat: quo circa equites, communicato inter ſe conſilio, eum opprimere ex inſidiis adorti ſunt. Rainaldi ad ann. 1317. n. 35.

the moſt exquiſite dainties, and the moſt delicious wines; and to ſupply his luxury and extravagance, he applied to his own uſe the revenues of the vacant commandries, or elſe, to the prejudice of the moſt ancient knights, he gave them away as a recompence to his favourites, and the miniſters of his pleaſures. With regard to the other knights, he affected to render himſelf difficult of acceſs; and if he vouchſafed them any audience, 'twas always in a rude and haughty manner. The way of remonſtrance was ſhut up to the juſteſt complaints, and ſcarce a knight went from his palace, but with a ſecret indignation.

WHAT heightened the diſcontent of the whole body, was his neglecting to pay the debts of the order; and they complained he let the houſe, the head of the order, want ſubſiſtance and neceſſaries. In vain did the old commanders repreſent to him, that the order was never richer, nor the maintenance of the religious more neglected; the imperious grand maſter received theſe remonſtrances as ſo many reproaches. His conduct, his manners, and the form he was for introducing in the government, were thoſe of an abſolute ſovereign; and he ſeemed to make no diſtinction between the knights themſelves, and the inhabitants of the iſland, and other ſubjects of the order. But he had a great body of gentry to oppoſe him. Many of the knights, being deſcended from the beſt families of Chriſtendom, and brought up in republican principles, were ready to ſubmit to an authority founded upon laws, but were incapable of bearing an odious deſpotic power.

THE way of private remonſtrances not ſucceeding with a ſuperior ſo proud and haughty, thoſe knights, who pretended to have been any way injured, had recourſe to a regular proſecution. The grand maſter, upon their petition, was ſummoned judicially to appear in council, to give an account of his adminiſtration: he rejected the ſummons with diſdain. The malecontents were not at all diſcouraged at it: they aſſembled ſecretly together, to conſider of the meaſures they were to take. Brother Maurice de Pagnac, under colour of deliver-

delivering the order from a tyrannical ſway, was put at their head. He was an old commander, pious, exact in the obſervance of his rule, but bitter in his zeal, and from his own regularity aſſumed a ſort of right to condemn all the knights that were not as devout as himſelf. This commander, who was naturally rigid and inflexible, and beſides, had probably his own private views in the revolution he was bringing about, repreſented to his brother companions, that after having had in vain recourſe to petitioning, and the authority of the laws for redreſs, they were going infallibly to fall under an open tyranny, if they did not take the bold reſolution of arreſting the grand maſter; that this attempt, daring and extraordinary as it might appear, would, if it ſucceeded, be infallibly approved by the knights, even by ſuch as were moſt indifferent in the caſe; and if they were once maſters of his perſon, they might impeach and try him before the council. This propoſal, tho' violent in its nature, was but the more agreeable to perſons whoſe paſſions were raiſed, and whoſe reſentments ran high; but there were great difficulties in the execution. The principal and wiſeſt commanders, tho' diſcontented with the government, had not yet engaged in theſe diſputes; and the grand maſter, beſides his houſhold, which was numerous, never ſtirred abroad without a train of his creatures, and a herd of flatterers, who without troubling themſelves about what is right or wrong, always devote themſelves to the author and ſource of favours.

THE malecontents, to ſurpriſe him at a time when he had the feweſt attendants about him, endeavoured to bribe one of his valets de chambre, and offered him a great ſum of money to let them by night into his apartment; but the ſervant, faithful to his maſter, informed him of the propoſal that was made him; and to heighten his own zeal and fidelity, exaggerated the number of the conſpirators, and the danger he was in of being ſeized. The grand maſter, fearing he could not be ſafe in the city, went out, under pretence of hunting, and made the beſt of his way to the caſtle of

Lindus, of which he took poſſeſſion. This caſtle is ſeated on a hill in the eaſtern part of the iſland, about ſeven miles from the city of Rhodes. Beſides a good port which is at the foot of the caſtle, there is on the north a large bay, with a clean, firm, and ſandy bottom; and a little farther off there is a place called Trianda, or the quarter of Serpents; below which is a very good road, where veſſels may ride covered from the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt winds. Villaret being maſter of this caſtle, ſupplied it with troops and proviſions, and at the ſame time had gallies in the port by his orders always equipped and ready to take him on board, if he was too hard preſſed by his enemies; and to ſtop the proceedings begun againſt him, he notified to the council, that he appealed to the holy ſee from every thing they ſhould enact in his abſence to the prejudice of his perſon and dignity.

BUT his flight, and eſpecially the manner in which, by his ſingle authority, he had ſeized on a ſtrong place, and on the gallies belonging to the order; the troops which he had thrown into the place; thoſe which he was actually levying in the iſland; and the arms and ammunition he was gathering on all ſides; this ſo exaſperated the minds of the knights, that the greateſt part of them, even ſuch as were the moſt moderate, and had not declared themſelves before, joined the malecontents. 'Twas like a general conſpiracy againſt the grand maſter; they all unanimouſly cried out againſt the tyrant: and in ſpight of his appeal to the holy ſee, a majority of the knights aſſembling in a tumultuous manner, depoſed him, elected Maurice de Pagnac in his ſtead; and from this precipitate election there aroſe an unhappy ſchism in the order.

THE moſt diſintereſted knights thought themſelves obliged to notify it to pope John XXII. ſucceſſor to Clement. They had already prepoſſeſſed that pontiff about the ill uſe that Villaret made of the revenues of the order, and particularly with regard to his negligence in acquitting the principal and intereſt of the money

money that he had borrowed for the enterpriſe of Rhodes.

THE commanders were the more concerned in this negligence, in that the intereſt was paid at their expence, and out of their reſponſions, which were conſiderably enhanced thereby. The pope, before he made any determination about ſo ſurprizing an event, ſent Bernard de Moreze prior of St. Caprais, and Boſolo his chaplain, as his commiſſioners to Rhodes, to receive information of the truth of what had paſſed in this commotion.

THE inſtructions given to theſe commiſſioners were, that as ſoon as they arrived at Rhodes, they ſhould ſuſpend the power of the two grand maſters, and ſhould ſignify to them the expreſs order of the holy ſee, to appear both of them forthwith at the pope's court; that they ſhould notify immediately to all the knights, that in the interim, whilſt this great affair was deciding, the pope, as ſuperior paramount of the order, named brother Gerard de Pins to govern it. He was an old knight, of the language of Provence, of the ſame family as the grand maſter Odo de Pins, much eſteemed for his valour and wiſdom; and not caring to declare himſelf for either party, was equally reſpected by both. The pope in the ſame inſtructions ordered the commiſſioners to ſeize the money, jewels, and all the effects of Villaret, to draw up an authentic account, and an exact inventory of them, and have it ſigned by the principal perſons concerned; and that after this previous formality, they ſhould remit the whole into the treaſury of the order, to be employed only in paying the bankers of Florence, and all other perſons who had advanced the money neceſſary for the conqueſt of Rhodes.

THE two commiſſioners arriving in the iſland, executed the orders given them with great exactneſs. They cited the two pretenders to the court of Avignon, and having made the commander de Pins to be acknowledged as lieutenant general of the grand maſterſhip, they communicated to him a particular order given them by the pope in relation to the grand commandry of the

iſle

iſle of Cyprus. That benefice, by the extent of its territory, its juriſdiction, and the largeneſs of its revenues, was rather a principality than a ſimple commandry. The caſtle and town of Coloſſus was the chief place of that ſeignory, which comprehended ſeveral villages, with the caſtle and town of Curias, otherways called Epiſcopia, which had been formerly the reſidence of the ancient kings of the iſle. Villaret, by way of acknowledgment for the pains brother Albert l'Allemand de Chateaunoir had taken for recovering the poſſeſſions of the templars, had gratified him with that rich commandry, a dignity after that of grand maſter, and the moſt conſiderable of any the order had in all the eaſt. Complaint was made to the pope, that the grand maſter had, out of favour to the commander l'Allemand, taxed it only at thirty thouſand beſans d'or (a gold coin valued at twenty one ſols three deniers) reſponſion a year, whereas all the commanders before had paid ſixty thouſand, by which we may judge of the revenue of that rich commandry. The pope conſented, that the lieutenant de Pins ſhould leave the commander in poſſeſſion of that dignity, upon condition he would pay to the treaſury of the order the ſame reſerved rent of ſixty thouſand beſans; but if he made any difficulty of ſo doing, he ordered, that upon his refuſal, they ſhould diſpoſe of the commandry to one of the oldeſt knights, who would comply with exactly paying the the quit rent upon the ancient foot.

In the mean time the two grand maſters, in obedience to the pope's orders, ſet out for Avignon. Villaret was received wherever he paſſed, and particularly by Robert king of Sicily; as a great captain, and with all the good treatment that his reputation deſerved: every one was touched with his diſgrace: nor was his reception leſs favourable at Rome. Pagnac, his rival and competitor, ſaw plainly that the change of place was no way to his advantage; they ſpoke of nothing at the pope's court, but of the valour and conqueſts of Villaret; whereas himſelf was looked upon as a rebel, and a ringleader of malecontents.

THE

THE pope [a] gave them both ſeveral audiences, not only in private, but alſo in the public conſiſtory. The moſt famous lawiers of the court of Avignon were employed in this great affair. Edward Dupont, an eminent lawier, pleaded in favour of Pagnac's election: he repreſented, that the knights who compoſed what they called at Rhodes the Convent, having, in conſequence of the right they had, and of the opinion they entertained of the virtue of Villaret, raiſed that knight to the dignity of grand maſter, they thought they had good grounds, when they ſaw him abuſe his power, to reſume an authority which that lawier maintained they had only committed to him in truſt, and during ſuch time as he ſhould uſe it well. He inſiſted particularly on the power of the council which had concurred in his degradation, and which he would have be regarded as the repreſentative body of the order, and of a general chapter.

VILLARET's lawier, after a fine harangue on the exploits and conqueſts of his client, ſo much to the glory and advantage of the order, and even of all Chriſtendom, demanded, if the depoſing of him was the recompenſe he ought to expect for them; and if a company of mutineers and rebels could be even authoriſed to depoſe their chief and ſuperior, eſpecially after he had prevented ſo raſh an enterpriſe, by an appeal to the holy ſee. And in anſwer to what Pagnac's lawier had advanced about the ſovereign authority of the council, as the repreſentative body of the general chapter, he exclaimed aloud, that the condition of the grand maſters would be very unhappy, if burdened, as they were, with the toilſome cares of the government, they were to have nothing but the fatigue and inquietudes of it, whilſt the members of the council, like a ſet of Ephori, ſhould ſet up themſelves for rigid judges and cenſors of their conduct. Yet let it be conſidered, ſays the lawier, that it is the grand maſters themſelves from whom the knights hold the dignities which give them a ſeat in council; and whether it be fitting that the

[a] John XXII.

the fate of chiefs ſhould depend upon their creatures, and that they ſhould be obliged to tremble before the work of their own hands.

THOUGH theſe reaſons in a republican government were more pompous than ſolid, yet the pope, offended at the little regard that Pagnac's party had ſhown to the appeal of Villaret, inclined ſecretly to his ſide. The cardinals, and particularly the courtiers, who never fail to find out the diſpoſitions of their maſter, blamed openly the precipitation with which they had depoſed the grand maſter. Pagnac ſaw plainly, thro' the diſcourſes ſpread on this ſubject, that he ſhould never obtain a confirmation of his election. The fear of ſeeing it vacated, by a ſolemn judiciary ſentence, and the ſad idea of falling thereby again under the power of a mighty and incenſed enemy, threw him into a deep melancholy: he quitted the court and retired to Montpelier, where he fell ſick, and after languiſhing for ſome months, had there a period put to his life and ambition.

HIS death delivered the pope from the trouble of pronouncing a judicial ſentence in ſo delicate an affair. The pontiff, to preſerve always a ſubordination, began with reeſtabliſhing Villaret in all the functions of his dignity; but as he had obſerved a vaſt deal of reſentment and animoſity in the contrary party, before he took off the ſuſpenſion which his commiſſioners had ſignified to the grand maſter, it was agreed privately with him, that after he had reſumed the government of his order, for a certain limited time, he ſhould make a reſignation, as of himſelf, to the holy ſee, and be provided with a great priory, which he ſhould enjoy with an entire independence on his ſucceſſor, and even without being obliged to contribute to the charges and reſponſions of the order; which, after ſeveral changes of priorſes and many difficulties, was at laſt entirely finiſhed about A. D. 1323. Villaret, after his abdication, retired to the caſtle of Teiran, which belonged to one of his ſiſters. He died there four years afterwards, and in A. D. 1327, his corps was interred in the church of

great

great St. John at Montpelier, in a marble tomb, round which there is an inſcription [b] mentioning his quality, without taking notice of his abdication.

WHILST the order was infeſted with theſe diviſions, Orchanes or Urcham Gazi, ſon and ſucceſſor to Othoman, thought it a favourable juncture to drive the knights out of the iſle of Rhodes. This young prince, in the life of the ſultan his father, had a great hand in his conqueſts. He was the ableſt of his generals, and the moſt certain inſtrument of his victories. The ſovereign power to which he arrived, upon the death of Othoman, ſerved only to inflame his courage. He was always revolving new conqueſts in his mind: he paſſed all the ſeaſons of the year in the field, living with his ſoldiers in his camp like one of themſelves, and as if they had been his brethren or his children; and in the greateſt dangers he ſhewed them a confidence that was equally honourable to the prince and his troops. His capacity was not at all inferior to his valour. Few ſovereigns ever equalled him in the art of ſetting the princes his neighbours at variance. He never failed to declare himſelf for the weaker ſide againſt the ſtronger, the more eaſily to cruſh both at laſt. 'Twas by this policy, rather than the valour of his troops, that he made himſelf maſter of Myſia, Lycaonia, Phrygia and Caria, out of which he drove moſt of the petty princes, who had ſhared with his father Othoman the territories of the laſt ſultan of Iconium of the Selgeucidian race, their maſter and ſovereign.

THE nearneſs of the iſle of Rhodes, which is only ſeparated from Caria by a pretty narrow channel, determined him to attempt the conqueſt of it. He thought himſelf ſo ſure of it, upon the advice he had received of the diviſions in the order, that he reſolved to tranſport

[b] Anno Domini M.CCC.XXVII. die ſcilicet primâ Septembris, obiit nobiliſſimus dominus frater Folquetus de Villareto, magiſter magni hoſpitalis ſacræ domus ſancti Joannis Baptiſtæ Hieroſolymitani, cujus anima requieſcat in pace, Amen. Dic pro me Pater noſter, Ave Maria.

port thither in perſon a colony of Mahome-
1321. tans, Turks, Arabians, or Saracens; and they pretend[a], that he choſe for this purpoſe moſt of the families which the knights, upon the conqueſt of Rhodes, had drove out of the iſland; and who, under the protection of the ſultan, flattered themſelves with re-entering into poſſeſſion, and ſettling again in it. Orchanes left the old men, the women and children, in the little iſle of Epiſcopia, which he made himſelf maſter of in his way; he then ſtood away with his fleet toward Rhodes. They relate, that he had no leſs than fourſcore flutes, brigantines, or flat-bottomed veſſels of different bulk, moſt of them laden with land forces, with which he intended to form the ſiege of the city of Rhodes.

GERARD DE PINS, before mentioned, whom the pope had made lieutenant-general of the whole order, having advice of the deſign of this infidel prince, and that his great armament was intended againſt Rhodes, did not think it proper to expect the enemy in the iſland. Unluckily moſt of the gallies and veſſels of the order were out a cruiſing; there were only four gallies left in the port, with ſome frigates, flutes, and merchant ſhips, but they were fortunately joined by ſix Genoeſe gallies, which put into the port of Rhodes, in their return from the coaſts of Cilicia and the leſſer Armenia, where they traded. All the knights that were in the iſland, the ſoldiers, and even inhabitants, able to bear arms, were put on board this little fleet. The commander de Pins mounted on board the admiral, and as he was an excellent ſeaman, getting the wind of the Turks, he attacked them boldly. The infidels were ſuperior in number of veſſels; they had the like advantage in the land forces which they had on board, but they were all ſoldiers, altogether unfit for ſea engagements. The knights, on the contrary, inured to that way of fighting, worked their ſhips with ſo much ſkill, that they ſunk part of the enemy's frigates and flat bottomed veſſels, and took a great number

[a] Giovan. Villani, 118.

ber of priſoners. Orchanes was only beaten by fancying himſelf invincible through the number and valour of his troops; but he had only tried them upon land, and he found enemies at ſea, whoſe capacity and skill were ſuperior to all his forces. The general of the order having routed their fleet, made a deſcent in the iſle of Epiſcopia, where, as we ſaid before, Orchanes had landed a great number of Turkiſh families, which he deſigned for peopling the iſle of Rhodes. The Chriſtian general, to cut off this root of war, and take from theſe infidels (the old inhabitants of Rhodes) all hopes of re-eſtabliſhing themſelves there, put to the ſword all that he found in arms, and the old men, women and children were, by his order, ſold for ſlaves.

As the grand maſterſhip was vacant by the abdication of Villaret, the pope convened, in his palace in Avignon, the priors and knights that were at his court, or in the provinces near Avignon: and when they were arrived, he exhorted them to concord, and to ſacrifice their private reſentment to the general good of the order. All theſe knights ſhut themſelves up afterwards in a ſort of conclave, to proceed to the election of a new grand maſter; and after invocation of the Holy Ghoſt, and a mature deliberation, the choice of the aſſembly fell upon brother Helion deVilleneuve, whom the pope favoured openly; and his recommendation, very little different from an order, had a great influence in the election, which he confirmed afterwards by an authentic bull, bearing date A. D. 1323. Others pretend, that this confirmation was a meer nomination, derived from the ſole authority of the pope.

HELION DE VILLENEUVE. 1323.

THE new grand maſter was not ungrateful; and to ſhow his acknowledgement to the pontiff, he ſold him ſome houſes which the order poſſeſſed in the city of Cahors, and ſome large eſtates in land, in the adjacent parts, which the pope, a native of that city, made a purchaſe of in favour of his family, which he had a mind to raiſe out of the obſcu-

1324.

rity it was buried in. His father, whoſe name was Arnaud d'Oſſa or Deuſſe, was but a poor cobler. The merit of his ſon, and his extraordinary knowledge in civil and canon law, raiſed him to the dignity of cardinal. That dignity did not make him forget the meanneſs of his birth; he lived with the other cardinals as with his maſters, ſober, frugal and modeſt; one could hardly, even by his dreſs, diſtinguiſh any marks of a dignity, which appeared entirely indifferent to him. Such was this cardinal at the death of Clement V. The cardinals were two years before they could agree on the perſon they would chuſe pope. They at firſt aſſembled at Carpentras; but the cardinals of Aquitain, tired out with the length of the conclave, got their ſervants to ſet fire to it, upon which they diſperſed, and could not afterwards be got together again. Philip, count of Poitiers, brother to Louis Hutin king of France, having, by addreſs, and under various pretences, drawn twenty three of them to Lions, engaged them to ſhut themſelves up in a conclave; but as the factions were ſtill as warm as ever, and they could not agree, they reſolved at laſt, if we may believe Villani and St. Antonin, to refer themſelves by way of compromiſe to the ſole nomination which cardinal d'Oſſa would make of a pope; out of a perſuaſion that ſo good a man, ſo diſintereſted, and one who, in the midſt of all the cabals had always remained neuter, could not but make a good choice. But the candidates and heads of parties were ſtrangely ſurpriſed, when the cardinal, by virtue of the power they had conferred upon him to chuſe a pope, named himſelf, and with a clear, ſtrong, and audible voice, pronounced theſe words, Ego ſum papa, 'tis I that am pope. Yet, as the compromiſe was made in all the requiſite formalities, they were obliged to acknowledge him, and at the ceremony of his coronation he took the name of John XXII. 'Tis thus that the hiſtorians above recited relate this event, though the emperor Louis of Bavaria, his enemy, and the partizans of that prince, in the writings which they publiſhed afterwards,

Wards, with ſo much virulence againſt this pontiff, never reproached him with this fetch, the reſult of ſo refined an ambition.

THE grand maſter was too much devoted to this pope to quit his court in haſte. He ſtaid there, or in the neighbourhood, near four years. During that time, in order to remedy ſome abuſes that had crept into the order, he called a general chapter at Montpelier. It muſt be owned that the grand maſter Villaret had done much leſs injury to the order by his profuſeneſs than by the looſeneſs he occaſioned in the regular diſcipline. Upon annexing of the great revenues of the templars to the order of St. John, moſt of the knights were inveſted with commandries. Theſe new commanders, thoſe eſpecially which abode in Europe, applying themſelves to find out the ancient poſſeſſions of the templars, or elſe to make the moſt of them, diſpenſed with themſelves, under favour of the diviſions that then reigned in the order, from reſiding at Rhodes, and even from paying that obedience which they owed to the grand maſter and the council. Moſt of them attached themſelves either to the court of Rome or to that of their particular ſovereigns; and theſe looſe religious courted the protection of ſecular princes, to make uſe of it as a ſuccour and protection againſt the orders of their lawful ſuperiors, and particularly to excuſe themſelves from reſiding at Rhodes, in the chief houſe of the order, which appeared to them no better than as a place of baniſhment.

THE chapter ſaw with grief, that a military order, founded and eſtabliſhed in the Holy Land and in the eaſt, was diſperſed and buried as it were, in different commandries in Europe; and, to draw the knights from thence, and bring them back to their principal houſe, declared all incapable of any dignity of the order, who had not kept an actual reſidence there for a certain number of years; during which reſidence they muſt likeways have ſerved in the wars, and on board the veſſels of the order. As to the grand croſſes, and knights who were inveſted with the principal dignities of the

order, the chapter named eight conventual bailiffs, who were in that quality to have ſeat in the council, of which the grand maſter was the head and preſident, by a right inſeparably annexed to his dignity. Yet he had but one voice more than any other counſellor or pilier, as they are called even to this day. By this nomination, the bailiffs were obliged to reſide at Rhodes.

THEY maintain that this was the chapter in which they divided the body of the order into different languages or nations, and annexed particular dignities to each language, and fixed the commandries of each nation; which commandries were likeways diſtributed between the priories whereon they depended.

1329. It was reſolved likeways, that the grand maſter ſhould every ten years have the nomination of two vacant commandries in each priory, preferably to the courſe of each language which was beginning to be ſettled; and that every prior, after the language was filled up, might name once in five years to a vacant commandry in his priory, provided he had made the neceſſary improvements, and owed nothing to the common treaſure of the reſponſions of his diſtrict; as may be ſeen in the treatiſe of the government of the order, which will be publiſhed in the laſt volume of this work.

THE grand maſter, after the concluſion of this chapter, prepared to ſet out for Rhodes, and was come as far as Marſeilles, where he was to embark, when he was detained by a long and dangerous illneſs, which held him near two years, as we learn from a letter of the pope in the ſixteenth year of his pontificate. In fine, the grand maſter having recovered his

1332. ſtrength, embarked with a great number of knights, and arrived happily at Rhodes about A. D. 1332.

THAT iſland, by the diviſions riſen in it, and by the long ſtay that the grand maſters had made in France, was much declined in its power and ſtrength. Moſt of the commanders had, under different pretences, retired

tired to their reſpective countries and commandries. The want of pay had greatly weakened the garriſon of the city, and there were breaches in ſeveral places of the walls. The grand maſter was no ſooner landed, but he made in perſon an exact viſit of all the outworks of the place; he cauſed reparations to be made in all places that wanted them, and the city and whole iſland were indebted to him for a baſtion or bulwark which he built at his own expence before one of the ſuburbs. To this precaution he added that of a numerous garriſon, which he maintained conſtantly at his own expence, beſides a great number of knights, which his preſence, and yet more his benefactions, drew to Rhodes.

HE obſerved the ſame conduct in reſpect to the iſles and other places that depended on Rhodes. Commiſſioners well qualified for the office viſited them by his order, and provided for the fortifying of ſuch places as might be inſulted; and the grand maſter ſent knights, eminent for their valour and experience, to command in theſe iſlands, who, by ſignals or light barks, gave him notice of whatever appeared in thoſe ſeas. The navy of the order, under ſo vigilant an head, recovered its ancient reputation; and beſides the ſquadrons of the order, the principal and richeſt commanders fitted out gallies at their own expence. The corſairs durſt appear no more; and the iſland of Cyprus, and the leſſer Armenia, whoſe coaſts were often infeſted by thoſe pirates, were freed from them by the protection of the flag of St. John.

IF the Chriſtian ſtates in the neighbourhood of theſe knights derived ſuch advantages from their vicinity, the inhabitants of Rhodes itſelf, and eſpecially the poor, felt the more immediate effects of the grand maſter's care. Under ſo wiſe a government, there was not an unhappy perſon to be ſeen in all the iſles of the order. The poor did not want a neceſſary ſubſiſtence. The ſick were put in a large and magnificent hoſpital, where all the aſſiſtances neceſſary, either for the wants of the body or for thoſe of the ſoul, were abundantly

provided for them. The grand master had re-animated the zeal of his knights by his own example; and it may be said, that as long as he lived, he discharged perfectly well the functions, and justly merited the title of guardian of the poor, which had been annexed to his dignity, ever since the foundation of the order.

'TWAS out of the same spirit of charity, and from the like and prudential motives, that he forbad all the knights, on pain of degradation, to offer to fight the serpent or crocodile, a sort of amphibious animal, which lived and fed in the marshes, and on the sides of the rivers. This crocodile was of a monstrous size, did a vast deal of mischief in the island, and had even devoured some of the inhabitants. For the understanding so extraordinary an incident, which some authors have treated as fabulous, we shall barely relate what history acquaints us with on that subject, and leave the reader to judge of so extraordinary an event, according to his understanding, and the probability he may find in our narration.

THE haunt of this furious animal we are speaking of, was in a cavern seated on the edge of a marsh at the foot of mount St. Stephen, two miles from the city. He went often out to seek his prey. He eat sheep, cows, and sometimes horses, wen they came near the water and edge of the marsh. They complained likeways that he had devoured some young shepherds that were keeping their flocks. Several of the bravest knights of the convent, at different times, and unknown to each other, went singly out of the city in order to kill him, but none of them ever came back. As the use of fire arms was not then invented, and the skin of this kind of monster was covered with scales that were proof against the keenest arrows and darts, their arms, if we may so speak, not being equal, the serpent soon dispatched them. This was the motive which engaged the grand master to forbid the knights attempting any more an enterprise that seemed above all human strength.

THEY

THEY all obeyed him, except one knight of the language of Provence, named Dieu-donné de Gozon, who, in breach of this prohibition, and without being daunted at the fate of his brother companions, formed ſecretly the deſign of fighting this voracious beaſt, reſolving to periſh in it, or deliver the iſle of Rhodes. This reſolution is generally aſcribed to the intrepid courage of the knight; tho' others pretend, that he was likewiſe puſhed on to it by the ſtinging invectives with which his courage had been inſulted at Rhodes; becauſe having gone ſeveral times out of the city to fight the ſerpent, he had contented himſelf with taking a view of it at a diſtance, and had thereby employed his prudence more than his valour.

WHATEVER were the motives that determined the knight to try this adventure, he, to begin the execution of his project, went into France, and retired to the caſtle of Gozon, which is ſtill ſtanding in the province of Languedoc; and having obſerved that the ſerpent he had a mind to attack had no ſcales under the belly, he formed the plan of his enterpriſe upon that obſervation.

HE cauſed a figure of this monſtrous beaſt to be made in wood or paſtboard, according to the idea he had preſerved of it, and took particular care to imitate the colour of it. He afterwards taught two young bull dogs to run when he cried out, and throw themſelves under the belly of that terrible creature, whilſt himſelf mounted on horſeback, clad in armour, with his lance in his hand, pretended at the ſame time to ſtrike at it in ſeveral places. The knight ſpent ſeveral months uſing this exerciſe every day, and as ſoon as he found his dogs perfect in this way of fighting, he returned to Rhodes. He was ſcarce arrived in the iſland, when, without communicating his deſign to any body whatſoever, he made his arms be carried privately near a church ſituated on the top of the mountain of St. Stephen, where he came attended only by two ſervants, whom he had brought from France. He went into the church, and after recommending himſelf to God, took

his

his arms, mounted on horſeback, and ordered his ſervants, if he periſhed in the combat, to return to France; but to come up to him, if they perceived he had either killed the ſerpent, or was wounded himſelf. He then went down the mountain with his two dogs, advanced ſtraight to the marſh, and the haunt of the ſerpent, who, at the noiſe that he made, ran with open mouth and eyes darting fire to devour him. Gozon gave it a ſtroke with his lance, which the thickneſs and hardneſs of its ſcales made of no effect. He was preparing to redouble his ſtroke, when his horſe, frighted with the hiſſing and ſmell of the ſerpent, refuſes to advance, retires back and leaps aſide, and would have been the occaſion of his maſter's deſtruction, if he, with great preſence of mind, had not thrown himſelf off. Then taking his ſword in his hand, and attended by his two faithful dogs, he immediately comes up to the horrible beaſt, and gives him ſeveral ſtrokes in different places; but the hardneſs of the ſcales hindered them from entering, and the furious animal, with a ſtroke of his tail, threw him on the ground, and would infallibly have devoured him, if his two dogs, according as they had been taught, had not ſeized the ſerpent by the belly, which they tore and mangled with their teeth, without his being able, tho' he ſtruggled with all his ſtrength, to force them to quit their hold.

THE knight, by help of this ſuccour, gets up, and joining his dogs, thruſts his ſword up to the hilt, 1342. in a place that was not defended by ſcales: he there made a large wound, from whence a deluge of blood flowed out. The monſter wounded to death, tumbles on the knight and beats him down a ſecond time, and would have ſtifled him by the prodigious weight and bulk of its body, if the two ſervants who had been ſpectators of the combat had not, ſeeing the ſerpent dead, run in to the relief of their maſter. They found him in a ſwoon and for ſome time thought him dead; but having with great difficulty drawn him from under the ſerpent, to give him room to breathe, in caſe he was yet alive, they next took off his helmet, and after throwing a little water upon his face, he at laſt opened his eyes.

The

The firſt ſpectacle, and the moſt agreeable one that could offer itſelf to his ſight, was that of ſeeing his enemy ſlain, which was attended with the ſatisfaction of having ſucceeded in ſo difficult an enterpriſe, in which many of his brother companions had loſt their lives.

No ſooner was the fame of his victory and the ſerpent's death proclaimed in the city, but a crowd of inhabitants thronged out to meet him. The knights conducted him in triumph to the grand maſter's palace; but in the midſt of their acclamations the conqueror was infinitely ſurpriſed, when the grand maſter looking upon him with indignation, demanded of him, if he did not know the orders he had given againſt attacking that dangerous beaſt, and if he thought they might be violated with impunity. Immediately this ſtrict obſerver of diſcipline, without vouchſafing to hear him, or being moved in the leaſt by the interceſſions of the knights, ſent him directly to priſon. He next convened the council, where he repreſented, that the order could by no means diſpenſe with inflicting a rigorous puniſhment on ſo notorious a diſobedience, that was more prejudicial to diſcipline, than the life of ſeveral ſerpents would have been to the cattle and inhabitants of that quarter of the iſland; and like another Manlius, he declared his opinion was, that the victory ſhould be made fatal to the conqueror. But the council prevailed, that he ſhould be only deprived of the habit of the order; in ſhort, the unfortunate knight was ignominiouſly degraded, and there was but a ſhort interval between his victory and this kind of puniſhment, which he found more cruel and ſevere than death itſelf.

BUT the grand maſter, after having by this chaſtiſement performed the obligations due to the perſervation of diſcipline, returned to his natural temper, which was full of ſweetneſs and good nature: he was pleaſed to be pacified, and managed things in ſuch a manner as to make them intreat him to grant a pardon, which he would have ſollicited himſelf, if he had not been at the head of the order. At the preſſing inſtances made him by the principal commanders, he reſtored him to the

habit

habit and his favour, and loaded him with kindneſſes: all this was not to be compared to the unfeigned praiſes of the people, who diſpoſe abſolutely of glory; whilſt princes, how potent ſoever they be, can only have the diſpoſal of the honours and dignities of the ſtate.

THEY ſet up the head of this ſerpent or crocodile over one of the gates of the city, as a monument of Gozon's victory. Thevenot* in the relation of his travels, ſays, that it was there in his time, or at leaſt the effigies of it; that he himſelf had ſeen it there; that it was much bigger and larger than that of an horſe, its mouth reaching from ear to ear, big teeth, large eyes, the holes of the noſtrils round, and the skin of a whitiſh grey, occaſioned perhaps by the duſt which it gathered in courſe of time.

WE ſhall be leſs ſurpriſed at ſo extraordinary an incident, if we reflect, that the iſle of Rhodes was anciently called Ophiuſa, from the Grek word ὄφις, which ſignifies a ſerpent, from the great number of thoſe reptiles which infeſted that iſland. Hyginus a Greek hiſtorian relates upon the teſtimony of Polyzelus a Rhodian, that a Theſſalian, ſon of Triopas, or of Lapithas according to Diodorus Siculus, having been thrown by a ſtorm upon the coaſt of Rhodes, happily exterminated thoſe miſchievous animals; that Phorbas among the reſt killed one of them of a prodigious bigneſs, which devoured the inhabitants. The learned Bochart pretends, that the Phœnicians called this iſland by the name of Geſirath-Rod, i. e. the iſle of Serpents; Geſirath, according to that author, being a term common to the Phœnicians, Syrians, Arabians and Chaldeans, for ſignifying an iſland, and Rod in the Phœnician tongue, ſignifying a ſerpent; ſo that joining theſe two words together, they formed that of Geſirath-Rod, whence the Greeks afterwards made that of Rhodes, which the iſle has preſerved to this day. But without dwelling upon a point of antiquity ſo very remote from us, perhaps ſuch as have criticiſed upon this paſſage of the modern

*Edition de 1637.

modern hiſtory of the iſle of Rhodes, have not conſidered a like event that happened in Africa, whilſt Attilius Regulus commanded the Roman army there, and was making war againſt the Carthaginians; and I do not think it foreign to my ſubject, to give an exact relation of what the hiſtorians of that nation tell us of a ſerpent ſtill more monſtrous and terrible than that killed by the knight de Gozon.

THE Roman army, ſay theſe writers, was encamped in Africa near the river Bagradas. The ſoldiers going to the water were attacked and devoured by a ſerpent which hindered them from coming near it. He had ſwallowed up ſeveral with his dreadful mouth; others were killed with the laſhes of his tail, and ſeveral died merely by the infection of his breath. In a word, he gave ſo much trouble to Regulus, that that general was obliged to employ his legions againſt the monſter, to try which ſhould be maſter of the river. But as the ſerpent, by reaſon of the hardneſs of his ſcales, was impenetrable to all the javelins of the ſoldiers, they had recourſe to their military engines; they beſieged him as they would have done a fortreſs; they hurled ſtones and flints againſt him at a diſtance; at laſt, after abundance of fatigue and ſweat, a ſtone of extraordinary ſize, thrown from the ſtrongeſt machine, ſtruck him by good fortune, broke his back bone and killed the terrible monſter.

REGULUS, as great a general as he was, ſay theſe hiſtorians, did not think the skin of this monſtrous animal unworthy of being ſent to Rome: it was a hundred foot long, and they hung it up in a temple, as a monument of his victory, and it remained there till the Numantine war. Thus it is that Florus, Valerius Maximus, Oroſius, Aulus Gellius and Zonaras relate this matter.

I DO not maintain that there has been no exaggeration in the length of the African ſerpent, nor aſſert every thing that is told of the monſtrous bulk of the crocodile of Rhodes; but what appears certain from the hiſtorians of that time, from tradition, and even from

from inſcriptions and authentic monuments, is, that Gozon killed a terrible animal, and by that action acquired a great reputation, eſpecially with the people of Rhodes, who looked upon him as their deliverer.

THE grand maſter, to make him ſome amends for the mortification he had given him, conferred rich commandries upon him: he took him afterwards to be near his perſon, and finding a prudence in him equal to his bravery, he made him at laſt his lieutenant general in the government of the iſland; from an opinion he had that ſo valiant and reſolute a knight, who had expoſed his life ſo generouſly for the ſafety of the inhabitants of the iſle, would, in caſe of war or ſurpriſe, defend them better than any body elſe againſt all the attempts of the infidels.

THOSE Barbarians, informed of the forces and vigilance of the grand maſter, and diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of their arms, left off their uſual roving and pillaging for a time. Rhodes and the other iſles of the order enjoyed a profound peace for ſeveral years. This ſecurity proved in the end prejudicial to the order: they fitted out fewer veſſels; their ſea affairs were neglected; moſt of the knights, finding no employment for their arms, returned into their own country; and ſeveral commanders, thoſe eſpecially of the kingdoms of the north, under pretence of this apparent calm, neglected to pay their reſponſions. This diſobedience aroſe from the expence theſe commanders made in their provinces. Moſt of them kept little correſpondence with the chief houſe of the order: they ſeemed to look upon themſelves as proprietors of their commandries, and inſtead of the novices and private knights which every commander was obliged to maintain in his houſe, and educate in the ſpirit of the order, nothing was ſeen but a worthleſs crowd of valets and hunting equipages. The relations too of the greateſt part of theſe commanders often conſumed the bread of the poor, and the revenues appointed for the defence of the Chriſtian dominions.

THE

THE people who uſed to ſee their predeceſſors live like true religious, were ſoon ſcandalized at a life ſo entirely ſecular. Some good men complained of it to pope Benedict XII. who had lately ſucceeded John XXII. They repreſented to him that the hoſpitallers, by inheriting the immenſe revenues of the templars, had like them fallen into luxury, and been infected with the dangerous and contagious corruptions that ariſe from great riches; that whilſt the templars ſubſiſted, the emulation between theſe two military orders engaged them both to vie with one another in armaments and enterpriſes always uſeful to Chriſtianity; but that ſince the extinction of that order, the commanders of the order of hoſpitallers, whoſe thoughts were taken up with their pleaſures, ſeemed to ſhun danger, and neglected the convoy and defence of the pilgrims that went out of devotion to the holy Land. Some ſecret enemies of the hoſpitallers, or rather ſome greedy courtiers, ſuch as are always graſping at other people's ſubſtance, and bent upon enriching themſelves, propoſed to the pope, to reſume the eſtates of the templars out of the hands of the hoſpitallers; others leſs ſelf-intereſted were of opinion, that they ſhould be employed in the foundation of a new military order. The pope, without entering into theſe different projects, to re-animate the courage of the hoſpitallers, deſigned to bring them into a league he was forming againſt the Turks, who were growing every day more formidable; but his death, which happened a little time afterwards, prevented the execution of his project.

SOME African corſairs having at the ſame time made deſcents upon the coaſts of the iſles of Cyprus and Candia, and ravaged thoſe of the Archipelago, which were leſs able to make a defence, furniſhed occaſion for new complaints againſt the hoſpitallers. They repreſented to Clement VI. ſucceſſor to Benedict XII. that the Chriſtians of the Levant were abandoned as a prey to the infidels, whilſt moſt of the knights being retired in the weſt, either upon their commandries, or at the courts of Chriſtian princes, were taken up with

nothing but their pleaſures, or the care of amaſſing wealth; and that the grand maſter and the knights that continued with him at Rhodes, ſecured from the inſults of the Barbarians by the fortifications of the place, lived in an utter indifference of what paſſed at ſea. What gave weight to theſe complaints and murmurs of the public, was, that ſome chaplains, religious of the order, and ſome of its Eſquires or ſerving brothers, had ſent ſecret memorials to the court of Avignon againſt the grand maſter and the knights, complaining, that in midſt of the luxury and effeminacy wherein they lived, they were not aſhamed to let them want cloaths, and the neceſſary ſuſtenance of life. The pope teazed with theſe complaints, wrote about them to the grand maſter in ſharp and reproachful terms.

"WE are informed, ſays the pontiff to him, by "perſons of merit and diſtinction, that it is the com- "mon ſentiment of the clergy, and indeed of all the "Chriſtian world, that you and your brother com- "panions ſcarce make any good uſe of the immenſe "eſtates you poſſeſs, as well on this ſide as beyond "the ſea. Thoſe who have the adminiſtration of "them ride, ſay they, fine horſes, make good chear, "are richly dreſſed, are ſerved in gold and ſilver, "keep abundance of dogs and hawks for hunting and "game, lay up great treaſures, give little alms, and "neglect the defence of the Chriſtians, eſpecially of "thoſe beyond ſea. For this reaſon it has been un- "der conſideration, whether it would not be proper "for the holy ſee to inſtitute a new military order, and "endow it with part of your revenues, in order to "raiſe and keep up a laudable emulation between the "two orders, as there was formerly between you and "the templars; this however we have not yet thought "fit to put in execution, out of the juſt confidence we "have that you will immediately reſtore the antient "diſcipline, and make a general reformation of man- "ners in your order."

THE pope in the ſame letter adds, that he had advice, the Turks were making great preparations for the conqueſt

queſt of all Romania. 'Tis not clear, whether by that term he meant only the province which bears that name, or whether, according to the Turkiſh and Arabian uſe of the expreſſion, he comprehended under that name all the ſtates which compoſed at that time what they called in the eaſt the Roman empire; an enterpriſe, ſays the pontiff, which would draw along with it the utter ruin of the Chriſtian religion. The pope added farther, that in order to prevent ſo terrible a calamity, he had formed the plan of a naval armament, compoſed of the gallies of ſeveral princes, that ſhould keep the ſea, and might join and act in concert, either to hinder the deſcent of the Barbarians, or to carry ſuccours to ſuch places as ſhould be attacked; that the king of Cyprus had agreed to furniſh for his quota four gallies, and the republic of Venice five; that he ordered the knights of Rhodes to put ſix to ſea, and the holy ſee would maintain four. "Though, "ſays the pontiff, we have had remonſtrances made "us by ſeveral of our brethren the cardinals, that your "order was rich and powerful enough, not only to "ſave the holy ſee the charges of this armament, but "alſo to put a whole fleet to ſea at their own expence; "and that there was in your treaſury more gold and "ſilver than could be found in that of any Chriſtian "prince whatever, without reckoning the conſiderable "ſums which your priors and commanders are ſcrap-"ing together for themſelves." The pope concluded this letter with telling the grand maſter, that the church was but ſorrily edified with the particular enmities of the knights between one another; adding at laſt, that complaints had been made to the holy ſee that they were negligent in providing for the ſubſiſtence of the chaplains and ſerving brothers.

THO' the grand maſter ſaw plainly they had impoſed on the pope's zeal for religion, by the exaggeration made of the riches of the order, yet, like a true religious, he reſolved to obey. They fitted out immediately ſix gallies in the port of Rhodes; and for their maintenance and expence, he, by the advice, and in

concert with the ſovereign council, appropriated a particular fund, ariſing from the ſucceſſion of commanders deceaſed, viz. the rights of mortuaries and vacancies. The mortuary, as is practiſed even now, was levied upon the revenues of the commandry, from the day of the commander's deceaſe till May firſt next enſuing, and from that day the vacancy commenced, and held till May the firſt of the following year; before that time the new commander could not enter upon the enjoyment of the revenues of the commandry.

THE grand maſter and council made afterwards ſeveral regulations for the reformation of manners, eſpecially in reſpect to the provinces of the weſt. The knights were among other things forbid to wear cloth that coſt more than two florins a canne, a meaſure which in ſeveral provinces of France contains two thirds more than the ell of Paris. And by the ſame regulation they were forbid the uſe of delicious wines, and the having more kind of meats than one on the ſame day: a wiſe and uſeful diſcipline; and happy it were for the order, was it to be revived in our days.

THREE [a] viſitors were appointed to carry theſe regulations to the pope, to deſire him to add or retrench as he ſhould ſee fitting, and inveſt the commiſſioners which they ſent with his apoſtolical authority, that they might be in a condition to inforce a more exact obſervance of them.

THE pope was exceedingly moved and affected with the grand maſter's ready obedience; and to ſhow the like generous care of the common cauſe, he fitted out the four gallies that he was to furniſh for his quota, to which thoſe of the king of Cyprus, the order of St. John and republic of Venice joined themſelves, under the general command of a Genoeſe captain, Gingarria by name. This little fleet kept the ſea all the ſummer, but without attempting any thing anſwerable to their ſtrength,

[a] Odo de Montaigu prior of Auvergne, Eſnard d'Albarno prior of Capua, Peter Plantin prior of the church.

ſtrength, and the expence the allies were at for this armament. The Genoeſe general, more mindful of his intereſt than his glory, made uſe of his authority to load the gallies with divers ſorts of merchandize, and employed the money conſided to him for the charges of the campaign, to his own private advantage. Henry, titular patriarch of Conſtantinople, legate of the holy ſee, mounted on board the admiral galley, and in that quality had the ſupreme command, according to the politics of the popes, who always aſſumed it in thoſe wars that were raiſed for the ſake of religion. This prelate, in imitation of the Genoeſe general, acted more like a merchant than a delegate of the ſovereign pontiff. The year following, the allies, full of indignation againſt the Genoeſe, choſe for their general brother John de Biandra, knight of Rhodes, prior of Lombardy, who had the particular command of the gallies of the order.

THE new general formed a deſign worthy of his valour. The port of Smyrna, a conſiderable city of Anatolia, ſerved often for a retreat to the Turkiſh corſairs who were maſters of the city. Biandra having, beſides the ſoldiers on board his fleet, taken in at Rhodes a great number of troops commanded by valiant knights, formed the ſiege of the place and took it by ſtorm. Some hiſtorians pretend that he took only the caſtle, which was ſeated by the ſea ſide, and commanded the entrance of the port. All the ſoldiers in the fort both Turks and Arabians, were cut to pieces. The grand maſter having advice of it, knowing the importance of that fortreſs, ſent freſh troops immediately thither, with arms and proviſions to reinforce the gariſon. There are ſtill to be ſeen upon the gates of the caſtle, tho' fallen to ruin, the arms of the church, which were placed there as a monument of this conqueſt, the whole honour of which they aſcribed to the pope, as head of the league, tho' the knights of Rhodes had the greateſt ſhare in it. A Turk called Morbaſſan, who commanded in the higher town and over all the country, attempted a year after to drive the Chriſtians

out of the place. He laid ſiege to it, but after three months ſpent in ſmart attacks and a gallant defence, he made a feint of abandoning his enterpriſe, or at leaſt of turning the ſiege into a blockade. The greateſt part of his troops drew off, and only a ſmall number was left in his camp. The Chriſtians having notice of his retreat, made a furious ſally, eaſily forced the intrenchments, which were ill defended, broke into the camp, and put to the ſword or took priſoners all that made reſiſtance, or did not ſave themſelves by a ſpeedy flight. They celebrated this victory upon the ſame ſpot on which they had obtained it, with the ſound of military inſtruments, with feaſtings, and a joy which was ſo much the more dangerous as the enemy was not far off.

MORBASSAN, whom they fancied a great way up in the country, but who only lay concealed with his troops behind the neighbouring mountains, having notice of it by certain ſignals, marched down, and finding the Chriſtians in diſorder, made a cruel ſlaughter of them in his turn. The greateſt loſs fell upon the knights of Rhodes: and the pope's legate who was come into the Camp to partake in the public joy, loſt there his life, as well as moſt of the officers and eccleſiaſtics of his houſhold. The knights who eſcaped the fury of the Barbarians got back to the fort, and held it out, by help of a new reinforcement, againſt all the efforts of the Turks and other infidels.

THE diſmal news of this diſgrace, paſſing into Europe, the pope to repair it publiſhed a cruſade with all the indulgences annexed to the firſt. Humbert II. Dauphin of Viennois, preſſed with great earneſtneſs to be declared the chief and general of it. He was a prince of mean parts, naturally vain, inconſtant in his projects, and leſs affected with their ſolidity, than the luſtre and diſtinctions with which they were attended. He came in perſon to the court of pope Clement VI. to ſollicit this employ. In the petition which he preſented on that account to the ſovereign pontiff, he intreated him to grant him the " poſt of captain of this

" holy

" holy expedition againſt the Turks, and all that were " not loyal to the church of Rome, which all people, " as well hoſpitallers as others, were obliged and bound " to obey by ſea and land."

To engage the pope to grant him the generalſhip, he offered to maintain at his own expence in this war three hundred men of arms, a thouſand croſs-bow men, to furniſh five ſhips of war well equipped, and to bring with him twelve banners and a hundred knights: glaring promiſes! but as much beyond his ability, as the poſt of general of an army was above his experience and capacity.

SOME [a] cardinals of the pope's council, who were not prepoſſeſſed in favour of this prince's courage, were againſt his demand; but the ſovereign pontiff's inclination prevailed and carried with it all the voices. [b] Humbert was choſe general of the Chriſtian army; the pope gave him the oath, and he obliged himſelf at the ſame time, by a ſolemn vow, to ſpend three whole years in that holy expedition. But as for the mighty armament that he was to furniſh by ſea and land, it was all reduced to an hundred men of arms; and there was no difficulty in judging of the ſucceſs of the expedition by the choice of the general. The next day, being the feaſt of Corpus Chriſti, he received from the pope's hands the croſs and ſtandard of the church, which he had carried before him in the ſtreets of Avignon, with his own particular ſtandard a-breaſt; thus followed by a numerous retinue, he returned in great pomp to his houſe; a ceremonial, which in default of a ſolid glory, gratified the vanity of the man. The great buſineſs was to find out funds to ſupply the expence of ſo long an expedition.

The

[a] Matt. Villani Hiſt. l. 2. c. 26. pag. 19. Baluz. Vit. Paparum Avenion.

[b] Et quia inter cæteros principes habui (providere de aliquo duce & capitaneo exercitui agminis Domini Dei Iſrael) reperi inſtantem ſæpius, ſupplicantem humilius, optantem ardentius, offerentem liberalius, dilectum filium Imbertum Dalphinum Viennenſem, hic præſentem: ideirco ipſum de fratrum noſtrorum conſilio ducem & capitaneum contra Turcos exercitus duximus deputandum. Baluz. in Not. ad vit. Paparum Avenion. pag. 890.

The dauphin had recourſe to an extraordinary impoſt, which he laid upon all his ſubjects; and then prepared for his departure with the princeſs Mary des Baux his wife, who, during the time the dauphin was at ſea, retired to the city of Rhodes and there died.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the diſgraces that had happened to the Chriſtians in the holy Land, expeditions beyond ſea were ſtill as frequent as ever; and what rendered the enterpriſe more eaſy, was that for a ſum of money agreed on with the maſters of ſhips, they never wanted veſſels in moſt of the ports of the Mediterranean ready to put to ſea, and provided with all neceſſaries either for navigation or for fighting.

THE dauphin having bargained for four of theſe ſhips at ſix hundred fifty florins each per month, embarked at Marſeilles the ſecond of September, on board this little hackney ſquadron, which carried him firſt to Venice, the place of rendezvous for all perſons engaged in the cruſade. He went from thence to the iſle of Negropont, where four veſſels of the pope's, one of Rhodes, and another of Venice joined him. The prior of Lombardy, at his arrival, retired on board the gallies of the order, taking on himſelf the particular command of that ſquadron: 'tis believed the dauphin paſſed the winter in that iſland. The year following he was at ſea with the whole fleet of the cruſades, and contributed to make the Turks raiſe the ſiege of Caffa, a town at that time belonging to the Genoeſe; and the Chriſtian fleet having had ſome other advantages over that of the infidels,* this the dauphin was not a little proud of. The pope forſeeing that the war could not be carried on with ſucceſs, without providing for the cruſade the funds neceſſary to defray the expence of it, had recourſe to an extraordinary tax, which he laid upon all eccleſiaſtical revenues in the kingdoms of France, Spain, and England. But the bloody war made by the Engliſh at that time in France, and the loſs of the battle of Crecy, where

* Memoires de Pilati, Hiſt. de Dauphiné, act. 284.

where ſeventeen hundred and ſixteen French knights were ſlain, not allowing the raiſing of this money, the pope fearing that the charges of the cruſade would fall entirely upon himſelf, very gladly embraced the project of a truce with the infidels, which the dauphin propoſed to him.

THAT prince wrote to him from Rhodes, where he was retired for the winter, that the Turks appeared inclined to peace, and that they might eaſily enter into a treaty with them. The pope was heartily aſhamed of demanding peace of an enemy whom they were come ſo far in ſearch of to make war upon; but the fear of being obliged to bear all the expence of it out of his own purſe, made him wiſh to ſee it ended. He wrote to the dauphin to find out expedients that in this negotiation might ſave the honour of the league and the intereſt of religion. He even went ſo far as to preſcribe him the forms and decorums to be obſerved in treating with the infidels; but it does not appear that the treaty was concluded. The dauphin, after receiving the pope's diſpenſation of the vow he had made to ſpend three whole years in that expedition, returned to his own dominions. Upon the death of Mary des Baux his wife, he had thoughts of marrying again with Blanche, ſiſter to Amadeus, Count of Savoy, and the contract for it was ſigned; but the dauphin having ſlighted the good offices which the count of Savoy employed to engage him to reſtore the caſtle of Mirabel to the ſeignior of Beaujeu, the little regard ſhewed to his requeſt cauſed a rupture of the marriage. The dauphin afterwards turned his thoughts towards Jane, eldeſt daughter of Peter de Bourbon, and engaged in it by a ſolemn treaty. But notwithſtanding the honour he would have received from ſuch an alliance, being conſtantly toſſed and hurried with his uſual irreſolutions, he could not reſolve to bring the affair to a concluſion[a]. This prince not finding in war, and in the path that others take to find it, the diſtinction and glory that he ſought

[a] Regiſtre Palati ad annum, 1348 & 1349

ſought after, fancied he might ſucceed better in a way that was entirely oppoſite. He quitted the profeſſion of arms and the government of his dominions, and entered himſelf among the Dominicans. He reſigned Dauphiné to the king of France, who reunited it to his crown from which it had been ſevered formerly; and to fix the inconſtancy of the dauphin, the pope at the king's requeſt ordained him prieſt. He afterwards undertook the adminiſtration of the archbiſhopriek of Rheims, but without quitting his religious habit which he wore all his life. Thus lived he a ſovereign without ſubjects, a general without troops or experience, a husband without a wife, a monk without a convent, a prieſt without a title and without juriſdiction; and in all theſe different conditions without ever having done any good to his province, but in reſigning it into the hands of our kings. They likewiſe reproach his memory, and that pretty juſtly too, for having taken from the prior Biandra the command of the Chriſtian fleet, which under that general, had made itſelf terrible to the infidels, and afterwards made freſh acquiſitions of glory under the ſame command.

ABOUT that time the order loſt the grand maſter de Villeneuve, a prince highly to be praiſed for his œconomy, who during his maſterſhip paid all the debts of the order, repaired and enlarged the fortifications neceſſary for the defence of the iſland and city of Rhodes; and beſides built at his own expence, as a monument of his piety, a church in honour of the holy virgin, and dedicated it to her; and left a ſufficient fund for the maintenance of two chaplains to ſay maſs there every day for the repoſe of his ſoul.

1346.

A GREAT number of pretenders offered themſelves for his dignity. The oldeſt knights, who profeſſed a regular life, were for ſuch as appeared moſt likely to keep up the diſcipline of the order. But the younger, without examining too nicely into the regularity of their manners, wiſhed only to have a great captain, that might head them in war, and be the means of acquiring

quiring them glory and riches: ſuch a choice was not without difficulty, The commander de Gozon beforementioned was one of the electors. When it was his turn to give his voice. "When I entered, ſays he, "into this conclave, I made a ſolemn oath, that I "would not propoſe any one but ſuch a knight as I "ſhould judge moſt deſerving of this great dignity, "and to have the beſt intentions for the general good "of the whole order; and after having ſeriouſly con-"ſidered the preſent ſtate of Chriſtendom, the wars "which we are obliged to maintain continually againſt "the infidels, the reſolution and vigour neceſſary to "prevent a relaxation in diſcipline, I declare that I "find no body better qualified for the government of "our order than myſelf." He then made a fine harangue upon his own virtues. The fight againſt the ſerpent was not forgot, but he inſiſted chiefly on his conduct from the time that the grand maſter de Villeneuve had made him his lieutenant. "You have al-"ready, ſays he to the other electors, had ſome experi-"ence of my government; you know what you are to "expect from it, and I do not think you can refuſe me "your votes without doing me injuſtice."

How deſerving ſoever this knight was, his colleagues were ſtrangely ſurpriſed to hear an elector name himſelf: ſuch a ſtep made them ſuſpect he was too ambitious; yet when they came to compare him with the other candidates, they found him far ſuperior of them all, not only in point of courage, of which he had given ſuch illuſtrious proofs, but alſo in reſpect of his wiſdom and moderation in commanding. Some of the electors, who were not his friends, could not help ſaying, that it were to be wiſhed, that what he had advanced to ſet forth his own merit, had come out of any body's mouth but his own. However, this generous aſſurance did not diſpleaſe the greateſt part of them; and ſeveral maintained, that after ſuch diſtinguiſhed actions as his, great men were allowed to ſpeak of themſelves with that noble confidence which truth inſpires. So all the voices, or at leaſt a majority of them, united

DIEU DONNE DE GOZON

united in favour of DIEU DONNE DE GOZON: and he was ſolemnly acknowledged as grand maſter, to the ſatisfaction of the convent, and eſpecially of the citizens of the town of Rhodes, and the inhabitants of the iſland, who ſince his victory over the ſerpent looked upon him as the hero of the order.

HIS conduct in the grand maſterſhip anſwered the great expectations they had of his valour and capacity for government. His firſt care was to revive the Chriſtian league: the allies joined their ſquadrons; and the grand maſter prevailed by his credit to have the command given to the prior of Lombardy, who going immediately in queſt of the infidel fleet, met with it in the Archipelago near Embro, or the Embro, a little iſle twenty four miles in compaſs, with a town of the ſame name, and a port on the eaſtern coaſt: this iſland is twelve miles from the mouth of the Dardanelles in the way towards the iſle of Lemnos.

MOST of the Turks, who imagined the Chriſtians to be ſtill in their ports, were landed and diſperſed up and down the iſland. The commodore of the fleet ſurpriſed them in this diſorder, fell upon them, and took or ſunk a great part of their ſhips.

THIS was leſs an engagement than a general rout: the ſoldiers that were on board the fleet, abandoned it to ſeek for refuge in the iſland, and ſuch as were landed before, ran to re-imbark. They only confounded one another; and in this diſorder and confuſion the general of Rhodes took from them a hundred and eighteen ſmall veſſels, light frigates, brigantines, felucca's or armed barks: but thirty two gallies, by help of their crew, put off to ſea, and eſcaped. The Chriſtians afterwards landed, ravaged the iſland, and made near five thouſand ſlaves.

SO complete a victory gave a great reputation to the arms of the knights; tho' pope Clement VI. like his predeceſſors, aſcribed all the honour of it to the archbiſhop of Candia his Vice-legate. Conſtans, others call him

him Livon, king of the leſſer Armenia, informed of the forces of the order, ſent embaſſadors to the grand maſter to intreat his aſſiſtance againſt an invaſion of the Saracens of Egypt, who had ſeized on part of his dominions. Though this prince followed the Greek rites, and was a ſchiſmatic, yet Gozon, full of zeal, and animated with the ſpirit of his inſtitution, thought it his duty not to abandon any Chriſtians to the fury of thoſe Barbarians. He prevailed upon the council of the order to ſend troops into Armenia; they fitted out a ſtrong fleet, and the braveſt knights embarked on board with a conſiderable body of infantry. All theſe troops coming off the coaſts of Armenia, joined the army of Conſtans, who had made a motion that way to favour their landing. Being thus joined in a body, they advanced directly forward againſt the Saracens; they eaſily found an enemy that ſought them, and ſoon came to an engagement; the battle was long and obſtinate, but the uſual valour of the knights decided its ſucceſs. The Saracens, who expected to have only to deal with the Armenians, whom they had beaten ſeveral times before, ſurprized to ſee the ſtandards of St. John, which they diſtinguiſhed ſtill more plainly by the great blows that the knights dealt about, turned their backs and fled. The beſt part of them periſhed in the heat of the engagement; and the Chriſtians took all their baggage, and a great number of priſoners.

THE king of Armenia, ſuſtained by this powerful ſuccour, beſieged afterwards and recovered all the places which the infidels had ſeized on; and the knights of Rhodes did not leave Armenia till they had entirely cleared the country of the Saracens, who got back into Egypt, tho' with great difficulty. • 1347.

As ſuch conſiderable enterprizes, and ſo many different wars, could not be carried on without great expence, the treaſury of the order was by this time greatly exhauſted: eſpecially, as the pope, out of thriftineſs, had quitted the league, as we have juſt now ſaid, and contributed nothing to it afterwards but indulgences.

He even propoſed to the grand maſter to accept of a truce which the Turks offered, on condition they might have an equal ſhare with the order in the cuſtoms of Smyrna, and the port duties paid by foreign ſhipping: and a war breaking out immediately after between the Genoeſe and the Venetians, on account of their commerce into the Black Sea, the league was thereupon entirely diſſolved.

THE order nevertheleſs did not fail remonſtrating to the pope, that though they were abandoned by their allies, yet they were not allowed by their inſtitution to enter into any public treaty with the infidels; and therefore, till God ſhould raiſe them up new allies, they would at leaſt keep themſelves on the defenſive. The grand maſter wrote at the ſame to all the commanders who had not furniſhed their reſponſions, requiring them to pay them in immediately; and hiſtory hath tranſmitted down to us a * letter that he wrote to the commanders of Sweden, Denmark and Norway, which deſerves to be inſerted in this work.

We ſee by this letter that he reproaches them for having paid no contribution to the order ſince the loſs of the Holy Land: that though they dwelt in the remoteſt countries of Europe, yet that it would be very ſurpriſing, if they had not heard of the conqueſt which the order had made of the iſle of Rhodes, whither they had transferred the ſeat of their ſociety: that the order, purſuant to its inſtitution, had devoted itſelf ſtill to religious wars: that all its knights were continually in arms, either on board the gallies of the order, or elſe at Rhodes, and in the neighbouring iſles that depended on it, the defence whereof they had undertaken: and that it was ſtrangely ſurpriſing, that the northern knights alone ſhould forget their duty, and continue in a ſtate of indolence and inactivity that diſhonoured them: that, as their ſuperior, he charged them, upon their holy obedience, to ſend immediately a detachment of the youngeſt of their brother companions, and remit their reſponſions to Rhodes; and that he knew very well how to puniſh ſuch as ſhould prove refrac-

* Bofio, t. 2. p. 18.

refractory to his orders; whereas thoſe who ſhewed themſelves children of obedience, ſhould find in him an head and ſuperior full of tenderneſs and goodneſs, who had nothing in his view but the glory of God and the honour of their profeſſion. Another effect of his zeal for the good of the order, was his obtaining of Clement VI. that no commandry ſhould be diſpoſed of by way of proviſion to any cardinal, nor ſhould the cardinals be allowed, under pretence of Legatine rights and authority, to exact any contribution from the knights. The pope granted this exemption, probably as a retaliation for the complaiſance which the grand maſter and council had diſcovered in favour of the vicomte de Turenne, the Pontiff's nephew, to whom they made a grant of la Baſtie de Detrats, a ſeignory belonging to the order, and adjoining to his eſtate, in exchange for other lands ſituated near the Rhone, which they annexed to the priory of St. Giles. The pope wrote about it to the grand maſter, to return him thanks on this occaſion, but gave him to underſtand at the ſame time, that the doge and ſenate of Venice complained, that in the war in which they were engaged againſt the Genoeſe, there were a great many knights in the troops of their enemies, and it looked as if the order of St. John was fighting againſt them in favour of the Genoeſe, though their profeſſion obliged them to employ their arms againſt the infidels only.

THE grand maſter's anſwer was, that in a military order compoſed of religious of ſo many different nations, it was no way ſurpriſing that 1350. the affection of ſome particular knights ſhould incline towards the intereſts of their reſpective countries: that there were likeways Venetian knights, who ſhewed as much attachment to their own nation as the Genoeſe; but that the order was far from approving the conduct of theſe religious, who were ſeduced, by an irregular love of their country, (which at the ſame time was natural enough) to intermeddle in thoſe wars; but that neither himſelf, nor the main body of the order were found engaged on either ſide in the quarrel be-

tween those two mighty republicks, he having always inviolably maintained the neutrality which he professed to observe between Christian princes.

HOWEVER reasonable this answer might appear in respect to the complaints of the Venetians, I do not know after all, whether those religious, who, from a spirit of penance, had taken the three solemn vows of the order at the altar, could, without very just scruples, imbrue their arms in the blood of Christians. 'Tis evident at least, that in the first ages of the church, they made a doubt whether it was lawful for Christians to bear arms. The quitting the military profession was esteemed a branch of penance; and even laymen who had killed a Christian, though in a just war, were obliged to make some satisfaction by way of atonement for it. This practice continued to be observed in France in the middle of the ninth century; and we see that after the famous battle of Fontenai, which was fought about A. D. 840. the French bishops required all such as found their consciences troubled for having acted in that engagement out of heat of passion, malice, vanity, or, in a word, out of any other human motive, to confess their offence and expiate their guilt by a rigorous penance.

WHAT is still more decisive in the point we are treating of, is, that the church had never given its sanction to the hospitallers in taking up of arms, but only for the defence of the holy places, and of the Christians, who either dwelt there, or came from the west to pay their veneration to a place sanctified by the birth of the Son of God, who had taken our nature upon him; and to preserve the memory of this pious motive it is, that in the form observed at the profession of the knights, the person who officiates presenting the novice with the sword, says to him, "Take this sword, "and make use of it for your own defence, and for "that of the holy church of God, and for the confu- "sion of the enemies of the cross of Jesus Christ." From whence we may well enough infer, that it was not allowable for these knights to use their arms offensively

ſively againſt any but infidels, and ſuch as were the declared enemies of Jeſus Chriſt. This juſt motive of not drawing their ſwords againſt Chriſtian princes, was the reaſon why the grand maſter refuſed to engage in the civil wars which at that time infeſted the empire of Conſtantinople. Pope Clement VI. being dead, Innocent VI. his ſucceſſor wrote to the grand maſter, recommending to him the intereſts of the emperor Matthew Palæologus, who diſputed that auguſt title with the emperor John, the ſon of young Andronicus.

To underſtand rightly the pretenſions of theſe princes, it muſt be obſerved, that the emperor Andronicus at his death leaving John Palæologus tutor to his ſon, and regent of his territories, that ambitious miniſter, who had the ſovereign authority given him only in truſt, made himſelf abſolute and independent maſter of it. He got himſelf proclaimed joint emperor with his pupil; and to dazzle the young prince, who was ſcarce paſſed the ſtate of infancy, married him to his daughter. But as the tyrant's deſign was to advance his own ſon, he ſoon took him in for a partner in the empire: ſo that now there was a third emperor, and the father and ſon afterwards drove the ſon of Andronicus out of Conſtantinople. The injured prince was not left without revenge; ſome of his father's faithful ſubjects brought him back as it were in triumph to the imperial city, and the Palæologi were obliged to quit it in their turn. The father, to ſecure his life, threw himſelf into a monaſtery, and took the habit of a monk; his ſon applied himſelf to the pope for ſuccours, promiſing to unite the Greek church to the Latin, as ſoon as he ſhould be reſtored to the throne. This was the ordinary lure made uſe of by the Greeks, in order to obtain aſſiſtance from the Latins. The pope wrote in very preſſing terms to the grand maſter in favour of Matthew, and that prince was himſelf the bearer of the letter: but the grand maſter did not think fit to engage his order in a civil war between Chriſtian princes: beſides, that the intractableneſs of a great many of the commanders of Europe, in making good their reſponſi-

ons, had disabled the order from furnishing the necessary expences for so great an enterprise. The advanced age of the grand master, and his almost continual infirmities, induced him to ask the pope's consent to abdicate a dignity which he then found as burthensome to him as he had formerly shewn eagerness to obtain it. The pope, who was truly sensible of the merit of that great man, and how useful he was to his order, would not at first consent to it. He exhorted him on the contrary, to support courageously the toils of government.

THE grand master not being able to obtain this consent, which he then looked upon as a favour, employed the remainder of his life in fortifying the city of Rhodes. He walled in all the suburbs on the side of the sea, and at the same time built the mole, where the ships and gallies afterwards put in. These useful cares were the methods he took to console himself for the pope's refusing to allow his resignation. The looseness which, notwithstanding all his endeavours, had crept into the discipline of the order, obliged him to renew his instances. 'Twas not without great anxiety that he found most of the commanders, who resided in Europe, were making use of the protection of the pope himself, as well as of the kings of France, Arragon and Castile, only to elude his orders; a protection which made those knights as much arbiters of their duty as they were negligent of it. Gozon finding no remedy for so enormous a grievance, dispatched new deputies to the pope, who complied at last in admitting his resignation. That pontiff's consent for their proceeding to a new election, was brought to Rhodes; but that license proved of no use, by reason of Dec. 13. the grand master's sudden death, if that term [illegible] may be allowed with regard to so good a man, who had always been more watchful over his own conduct, than over that of the knights under his care. His funeral was celebrated with the just elogiums of his brother knights, and the tears of all the inhabitants of the isle, and of the poor especially,

ly, to whom he was indeed a father. All the inſcription put upon his tomb was this: HERE LIES THE VANQUISHER OF THE DRAGON.

THE convent and chapter of Rhodes, after Gozon's death, choſe for his ſucceſſor brother Peter de Cornillan or Cornelian, a knight of the language of Provence. He certainly juſtly merited that eminent dignity, on account of the regularity of his life, and even of the ſeverity of his morals; and the order indeed was at that time in need of ſuch a ſuperior. As ſoon as he had taken poſſeſſion of his dignity, he called a general chapter at Rhodes. Various abuſes had crept into the government, which in time had become cuſtoms: and ſuch as made their advantage of them would willingly have made them paſs for laws. The firſt, and indeed one of the moſt dangerous, was the abuſe made of the grand maſter's ſeal, in putting it, without his knowledge or conſent, to orders and receipts, which were afterwards lodged in the treaſury. Another abuſe, not leſs prejudicial to the whole body of the knights, was the priors aſſuming a nomination to the commandries vacant within their priories, and exerciſing this uſurped power in ſuch a manner, that they often filled up places with their own friends and relations, without any regard to merit, age, or the rights of ſeniority. The grand maſter prevailed with the chapter to make a regulation, ordaining, that for the future they ſhould not make uſe of the grand maſter's ſeal in any matter relating to the revenue; but that all ordinances ſhould be ſealed with the ſeal of the convent, and in a full chapter.

PETER DE CORNILLAN. 1353.

BY the ſecond regulation, the nomination to all commandries was veſted in the grand maſter and council of the order, who were to fill them up, due regard being firſt had to the rank, the ſeniority, and the merits of the knights. Theſe were not the only abuſes which the grand maſter had a mind to correct; but as his prudence was not inferior to his zeal, which burnt with the brighteſt flame, he brought on the ſchemes he had drawn up for reformation at different times, deferring

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the execution of them according as he found his own authority to grow ſtronger in the government.

WHILST the grand maſter was thus entirely taken up with the reſtoring of diſcipline, ſome ſecret enemies of the order, at the court of Rome, reſumed the deſign of getting all the revenues of the templars out of the hands of the knights of Rhodes, expecting, no doubt, to get the beſt part of them to themſelves. However, to avoid ſuſpicion as much as poſſible, they carried on this attack againſt the order with a great deal of art. Some went no further than to tell the pope, that they found every day that the riches and confiſcated revenues of the templars greatly exceeded whatever had been ſaid of them; others inſinuated farther, that the hoſpitallers were not numerous enough to find leiſure to make proper enquiries into thoſe great poſſeſſions; that the greateſt part of the knights were gone over into Europe; that it looked as if they had abandoned the iſle of Rhodes; and though ſome ſtill continued about the grand maſter, ſhutting themſelves up in the moſt retired part of their palaces, yet they were entirely taken up with their pleaſures, and the care of amaſſing wealth. Theſe diſcourſes were ſpread about with great ſecrecy and artifice, and the pope was prejudiced with them by inſenſible degrees. In ſhort their enemies went ſo far as to propoſe to the pontiff a ſequeſtration of all the revenues of the templars into his own hands, to be employed afterwards in pious uſes, as his holineſs ſhould think fit; or, if he thought proper, to be diſpoſed of in founding a new military order, which might, by its zeal, incite the emulation of the knights of Rhodes, and cure them of a profuſeneſs ſo contrary to their rule and inſtitution.

THE pope took another, and indeed a very extraordinary ſtep with regard to the conqueſts made by the Turks. Orchanes, whom we have lately mentioned, and who is looked upon as the ſecond prince of the Oſman or Othoman race, after having ſubdued the greateſt part of Anatolia, beaten the emperor John Palæologus on ſeveral occaſions, and taken Pruſa, Nicomedia,

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and Nice, croſſed the Helleſpont, and ſeemed inclined to fix the ſeat of his empire in the Morea. 'Tis ſaid that a great earthquake having rendered the taking of Gallipolis more eaſy to him, he ſaid to his officers, "Let us ſtay in Europe, ſince God opens us the way "to it." Pope Innocent VI. above mentioned, alarmed with the rapidity of his conqueſts, out of an apprehenſion that he might fall upon Italy itſelf, did, in order to oblige him to return into Aſia, order the knights of Rhodes to abandon that iſle, and tranſport the convent, and their place of reſidence into ſome part of the continent bordering upon the Turks or Saracens, and ſituated on the ſide either of Paleſtine or Anatolia, in expectation that the knights, by an advantageous diverſion, might draw the infidels arms upon themſelves, and thus kindling a war in the heart of the Turkiſh dominions, might ſerve for a bulwark to Chriſtendom; a project which had ſome time before ſuggeſted to the pontiff's predeceſſors, though the author of it muſt certainly have been ſome ſecret enemy of the order, and as wretched a politician as he was ill verſed in the art of war. 'Tis amazing how the pope could propoſe to the order to abandon an iſle ſtrongly fortified, and to renounce all the advantages which the Chriſtians derived from the ſea and from their fleets, which covered equally the iſle of Cyprus and kingdom of Armenia, only to ſend them, as we may ſay, to the ſlaughter, and oblige them, like new adventurers, to ſeek a ſettlement in the heart of the dominions of infidels, who were too powerful to ſuffer them there for a moment.

YET notwithſtanding theſe juſt conſiderations, which muſt naturally offer themſelves to the pope's thoughts, the pontiff, ſtill prejudiced in favour of his project, diſpatched to Rhodes brother Ferdinand de Heredia Caſtellan of Emposta, and grand prior of Caſtile, who was conſidered at the court of Rome as Innocent's confident and favourite, ſending alſo with him brother Raimond Berenger, preceptor or commander of Caſtel-Saraſin, and brother Peter de Cornillan, commander of Val-

Val-Pujet, and in all probability a relation of the grand maſter; all three being of the number of the moſt diſtinguiſhed knights of the order, the two firſt of which came afterwards to be grand maſters.

THE pope directed them to lay before the grand maſter and council the complaints which he continually received of the indolence and lethargy wherein the whole order ſeemed to have been buried for ſome time; and to repreſent, that whilſt the Turks were ravaging Greece, and threatning Italy, the knights finding themſelves ſecure in Rhodes, by the ſtrong fortifications with which it was defended, and growing effeminate with luxury and eaſe, ſeemed no ways affected with it, but ſquandered away the great income which they enjoyed, from the confiſcated revenues of the templars, and derived from the piety of the faithful, in criminal pleaſures, that decency and modeſty do not allow us to mention; that he knew very well pope John XXII. Benedict XII. and Clement VI. his immediate predeceſſors, had, in order to get them out of thoſe delightful places, where they ran ſuch an hazard of their ſalvation, often preſſed them to remove their abode into the Holy Land, though as yet in the hands of the infidels; but that the holy ſee was ſenſible of the little regard they had hitherto ſhown to ſuch counſels, which ought rather to have been conſidered as expreſs orders, and received by them as laws; that he enjoined them to fix immediately about this tranſmigration to ſome place, from whence they might, with the aſſiſtance of heaven, force their way through into the Holy Land, that otherways he ſhould be obliged to employ the moſt proper methods to force them to it, and ſhould particularly deprive them of the eſtates of the templars, which he would employ in the founding of a new military order, whoſe zeal might perhaps excite their emulation, or at leaſt ſerve for an eternal reproach to them.

THE grand maſter anſwered the pope, that he had received his orders with great reſpect, but could not, without conſulting and obtaining the conſent of the general

neral chapter of the order, ſo haſtily abandon a conqueſt of ſo great importance, and for which ſo many knights had ſhed their deareſt blood; that he was going immediately to ſummon a chapter in Rhodes itſelf, and would notify his holineſs's intention to his brethren of the order. The pope apprehending, that if the chapter was held at Rhodes, the riches of that iſland, its fortifications, haven, fleets, and even ſoft and luxurious life which they led there, might determine the knights to continue in it, iſſued out a ſolemn bull, declaring it to be his pleaſure, that the chapter ſhould be held either at Niſmes or Montpelier, places not far from Avignon, from whence he certainly flattered himſelf, that his authority would have the more effectual influence over the aſſembly. The pontiff obſerved in his bull, that ſince the return of his envoys, he had learned with ſurpriſe, that ſome knights about his court had wrote to Rhodes, to this effect, viz. That they had no occaſion to be in any pain about what the caſtellan had ſaid to them, of which he himſelf was author; that that dextrous courtier had magnified his reproaches and threats, only to make himſelf neceſſary to his order, but that the pope had expreſſed himſelf very differently on that ſubject before them, and that they might be very eaſy about the affair of their removal. The pope added, that he addreſſed this bull to them, as an irrefragable proof as well of his own will and pleaſure, as of the truth of what their Caſtellan had told them from him, and to prevent ſuch practices from occaſioning any delay in their ſettling upon the frontiers of the infidels.

'TWOULD be impoſſible to deſcribe the uneaſineſs which the grand maſter felt, both in ſeeing the pope perſiſt in ſo deſtructive a project, as well as the fear he had of his order's inſiſting on its ſovereignty, and ſetting up to oppoſe it. He was divided between the obedience which he owed to the pontiff, and that which he thought due to his order, and the companions of it; two duties which to him appeared almoſt equally indiſpenſable. In this terrible conflict, death came in as

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it were to his assistance, and put an end to his life in the eighteenth month of his mastership. The knights chose in his stead Roger de Pins, a knight of the language of Provence, of an illustrious house of Languedoc, a relation of Odo de Pins, the twenty-third grand master of the order, and of Gerard de Pins, who, in the vacancy of the mastership, had won a signal victory over Orchanes the son of Othoman.

ROGER DE PINS. 1353.

THE pope, who would not allow the chapter to be held at Rhodes, and had by his own authority summoned it to meet at Nismes or Montpelier, being still apprehensive that it might come to resolutions contrary to the schemes he had projected with relation to Rhodes; and in order to be better acquainted with their debates, would needs have it held in Avignon itself, as it were under his own eye. But the impatience he was in of getting the knights out of the isle of Rhodes, and a considerable time being necessary for their coming out of the various provinces of Christendom to Avignon, was the reason of his allowing them to hold an assembly at his court, in which brother William de Mailly grand prior of France, and brother William Chalûs grand prior of Auvergne, presided in the grand master's name, and in quality of his lieutenant on this side of the sea.

HAPPILY for the order, some time before the opening of this assembly, it had been suggested to the pope, that in the design he had of drawing the knights out of the isle of Rhodes, it would be of much greater service to Christendom, and particularly to Italy, to settle them in the Morea than in Palestine, where they could never resist the formidable power of the Turks and Saracens. The pope liked the proposal well enough: Robert, titular emperor of Constantinople, was then prince of Tarento, and sovereign of Achaia or the Morea, by John duke of Duras, his uncle's grant of it to him. But James of Savoy, eldest son to Philip prince of Piedmont, laid claim to the Morea, as belonging to him in right of Isabel de Ville-hardouin his mother; and in the

the midſt of theſe different pretenſions, the Turk, who had the ſtrongeſt right on his ſide, daily ſeized upon ſome place or other in its province. The pope, to prevent the loſs of it to Chriſtendom, propoſed to the prince of Savoy to treat with the knights of Rhodes about his claim. This great affair was debated in the aſſembly at Avignon: the knights, who did not care openly to claſh with the pope's ſentiments, named their commiſſioners; but as they expected ſome change from time, they ſpun out the negotiation to a great length, under various pretences, and made ſo ſlow a progreſs in it, that death ſurprized the prince of Savoy before any thing was concluded in it; and the deſign was not reſumed of a long time afterwards, as will be obſerved in the ſequel of this work.

VARIOUS regulations however were made in this aſſembly, relating to diſcipline, and which point out the abuſes which had crept into the order with reſpect to the diſtribution of their alms. Ever ſince the eſtates of the templars had been annexed to the [a] manſe of the hoſpitallers, they had, to the great offence of the people, and prejudice of the poor, neglected all the duties of charity in the houſes of that order, under pretence that they officiated in the commandries of the knights of Rhodes. The aſſembly made an order, that, independent from thoſe alms, they ſhould immediately reſume thoſe charitable diſtributions which were uſed to be made in the houſes that had belonged to the templars.

THOUGH the pope was far from being favourable to the order, as we have ſeen, yet no body had a greater aſcendant over him than a knight of Rhodes, brother John Ferdinand d'Heredia by name; of the language of Aragon, and Caſtellan of Empoſt. He was the only counſellor and miniſter of the pontiff, who employed him even in foreign negotiations. To give him the greater authority at his court, he had made him governor of Avignon, and all he comtat Venaiſſin. So diſtinguiſhing a favour might perhaps make one ſuſpect that the pope's

[a] Manſe, an income appointed for the maintenance of the table of any prelate or ſociety.

extraordinary projects were ſuggeſted to him by the Arragonian, who, if the order had been obliged to abandon the iſle of Rhodes, would have been well enough pleaſed to have got himſelf, under the title of bailiff, named ſovereign prince of it by the pope. At leaſt all his conduct ſhews, that he made uſe of the pope's authority only to aggrandize himſelf, without any regard to the ſtatutes and regulations of the general chapters. Thus he obtained ſucceſſively the grand-priory of Caſtile, and alſo that of St. Giles, to which the greedy Spaniard got himſelf named by the pope, who conferred it upon him by his own abſolute authority, and without the knowledge or conſent of the grand maſter. The order was perfectly confounded at ſo ſurpriſing an innovation; the popes indeed, beſides the power of the keys, had likeways a particular authority over the order of St. John, as being the firſt ſuperiors of it; but they had hitherto made uſe of this authority only for its protection, or for the correcting of abuſes which are inevitable in this life, and which are apt to creep even into the moſt auſtere ſocieties.

THE knights complained that this laſt pope employed his authority only in deſtroying the form of their government, and that they could no longer depend upon their years of ſervice and ſeniority, if one of their brother knights, by the inſinuations of a court intrigue, and in contempt of the wiſeſt regulations, had it in his power to engroſs the beſt commandries in every language. The grand maſter and council ſent embaſſadors to the pope, to declare to him the juſt remonſtrances of the whole order; and the grand maſter, in order to engage Heredia to deſiſt from the pope's nomination, ſent him ample proviſions, by which he conſtituted him his lieutenant on this ſide the ſea. But all theſe ſteps were alike fruitleſs; the pope was inflexible, either out of affection to his favourite, or that he might not ſeem to derogate from that ſupreme authority, which he claimed to exerciſe in the government of the order, as a right with which he was inveſted: and Heredia abuſing the new favour done him by the grand maſter,

maſter, not only neglected paying into the common treaſury the reſponſions of the many commandries he had engroſſed, but alſo, under pretence of his poſt of lieutenant, kept the reſponſions of other commandries in his hands. If they came to be vacant, he got new proviſions from the pope, and by this violent conduct, bore a deſpotic ſway in his order.

THIS occaſioned a new embaſſy; the grand maſter ſent brother Roger de Montaut, a great commander, and brother Stephen Montaigu to Avignon, to deſire the pope's leave to proſecute Heredia, as an uſurper of the eſtate and revenues of the order. The pope, who did not care to protect his injuſtice openly, pretended to conſent to the grand maſter's requeſt, and named two cardinals to take cognizance of the affair. But theſe, under the ſpecious name of judges, acted only as mediators; and in order to make their own private advantage of Heredia's credit, they prevailed with the ambaſſadors to take up with a ſlight ſatisfaction, and give over the proſecution. The pope ſent a gentleman of his houſhold to Rhodes, on purpoſe to tell the grand maſter from him, that they would oblige him in not giving Heredia any diſturbance in his enjoyment of the dignities he had conferred on him, the revenues of which, he ſaid, that knight employed only for the intereſt of the church, and the ſervice of the holy ſee.

THE grand maſter was forced to connive at an abuſe which ſo powerful a protector hindered him from correcting. But for fear ſuch a pernicious example ſhould draw as bad conſequences after it, and to prevent other priors from appropriating to themſelves, in imitation of Heredia, the commandries, or at leaſt the reſponſions belonging to the order within the bounds of their reſpective priories, this wiſe grand maſter convened a general chapter at Rhodes, and deſignedly choſe for that purpoſe a place that was immediately under the government of the order, that the debates might be carried on with the greater freedom, and in order that they might take a reſolution not to be baffled by other potentates. In this chapter particular receivers of the

dues of the order were appointed in every priory, and who were accountable only to the common treasury. They made also, at the same time, a decree, incapacitating the priors from being provided with any other commandries but such as composed their priorial court. Some serving brothers having, by their intrigues, got the cross of knighthood, a regulation was made in the same chapter, forbidding the advancement of any serving brother to that dignity: a regulation agreeable to that of a great pope, who had very wisely established the distinction of those two ranks, by a distinction of their habits; a decree, which, it were to be wished, might be strictly observed, for the sake of the nobility and gentry.

THE grand master did not long survive the conclusion of this chapter. The order lost in him a chief who was very zealous for the maintaining of discipline, as the poor of the island did a very charitable father. It was observable, that during the time that the plague infested that island, as well as all the east, and which was followed by a dreadful famine, he immediately employed all his income, and sold afterwards his plate and furniture to supply the necessities of the poor; which justly procured him the title of almsgiver, with which the order and all mankind had distinguished him, and in heaven a just recompence, and the hundred fold so expressly promised by him whose promises are infallible.

RAIMOND BERENGER. 1365.

THE order elected for his successor brother Raimond Berenger, a native of Dauphiné, of the language of Provence, commander of Castel-Saraſion, whose descent historians derive from the Berengers that were sovereigns of Italy, as others do from those that reigned at Barcelona, and in the county of Catalonia. But whatever his family was, it is certain that he reflected a new lustre upon it by his valour, and the boldness of his enterprises. Some Egyptian corsairs used frequently to infest the coasts of Cyprus, and made prizes of all ships that sailed in those

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ſeas under the ſtandard of the croſs. The grand maſter not only fitted out ſeveral gallies, which gave them chace, but reſolved alſo, in concert with the king of Cyprus, to go and burn them even in the port of Alexandria. That prince and the grand maſter made up a fleet of near a hundred veſſels of different bulk; they put land forces on board, moſt of them drawn from the coaſts of France, but without being let into the ſecret of the enterprize they were to be employed in, which was communicated to no body but Urban V. who then ſat in the pontifical chair.

THE fleet being ready to ſail, the king and the grand maſter went on board, followed by a great number of knights, and in leſs than five days landed under the walls of Alexandria. They clapped ladders to the walls, and attempted to ſcale them. The Alexandrians were ſtruck with ſurpriſe; but beſides a ſtrong garriſon, there were ſuch an infinite number of people in that great city, the richeſt in Egypt, that the walls were in a moment lined with ſoldiers and inhabitants, that poured down ſhowers of arrows upon the Chriſtians. The beſieged ſtanding firm on the parapet, with their pikes and halbards, dealing great blows about, throw down the beſiegers, puſh them into the ditch, and overwhelm them with ſtones of a large ſize. New aſſailants ſupply the place of the ſlain and wounded, and without being daunted at the death of their companions, endeavour to get on the top of the walls; ſome are pierced through with arrows, others precipitated or overturned with their ladders. The beſieged throw boiling oil and fireworks on all ſides; theſe burn the machines of the Chriſtians, ſtick to their cloaths, penetrate even to their bodies, forcing the ſoldiers all in a flame to give over the attack, and throw themſelves into the water for relief. Never was a more furious and bloody attack known; but in ſpite of the horrible image of death, which preſented itſelf on all ſides, the knights of Rhodes, animated by their own bravery, and the grand maſter's intrepid air, renew the attack, clap their ladders again to the walls, and mount-

ing over the dead bodies of their companions, get up to the top, leap upon the parapet, throw themſelves into the place, and kill all before them. From thence the victorious troops ſpread themſelves over the city, force into the houſes that are next the ramparts, maſſacre huſbands in the arms of their wives, plunder the richeſt furniture, and make ſlaves of all that eſcape the firſt fury of the ſoldiery.

THO' the king and grand maſter had loſt abundance of men in the ſeveral attacks they made, they yet would have been glad to have kept their poſt and maintained their conqueſt. But having advice that the ſultan was advancing with all the forces of Egypt to drive them thence, and ſeeing themſelves in a place that was ſtill crouded with an infinite number of inhabitants, who had intrenched themſelves in the lower town, they reſolved to retire; and putting an ineſtimable booty on board their own fleet, they ſet fire to all the veſſels of the infidels that were in the port, and re-embarked with their priſoners. The king ſtood away for Cyprus, and the grand maſter for Rhodes, where both of them arrived happily.

THE grand maſter having delivered Peter de St. George, a nephew or near relation of Urban, out of captivity among the infidels, would have the merit of conducting him himſelf to Avignon, but before he ſet out, advice came of that pope's death. Hiſtorians ſay, that juſt before he expired, and after having received the ſacraments of the church, he ſaid, in the preſence of his chamberlain, his confeſſor, and ſeveral cardinals, directing his ſpeech to them, "I firmly believe all that "the holy catholic church believes and teaches; and if "I have ever advanced any thing in any manner what"ſoever different from it, I retract it, and ſubmit "my ſelf to the determination and cenſure of the "church[b]."

PETER ROGER, called cardinal de Beaufort, nephew to pope Clement VI. ſucceeded Urban V. and took on

[b] Præſentibus etiam camerario, confeſſore, pluribusque aliis familiaribus ſuis, ac aliis multis notabilibus perſonis, dixit & aſſeruit ſe

on him the name of Gregory XI. The grand maſter was then thinking to abdicate his dignity. The intractableneſs of moſt of the European commanders had obliged him to take this extraordinary ſtep. Upon his return from the expedition of Alexandria, he was informed by the council, that the order could get nothing from the reſponſions of the weſt. This inflexibility equally ſurpriſed and afflicted him: in vain did he ſend the moſt preſſing orders; no anſwer was given to them, but by an obſtinate ſilence, which ſerved as a ſcreen to a direct diſobedience. Many of theſe commanders were in poſſeſſion of ſeveral commandries, and employed their reſponſions and the eſtate of the order, either in purchaſing the favour and protection of princes, or in enriching their own families; and ſuch as were the leaſt irregular among them, whenever they remitted money to Rhodes, conſidered it as their own free gift, looking upon their reſponſions as arbitrary alms and acts of mere liberality. Conſiderable diſputes aroſe alſo between the languages of Provence and Italy; and the principal knights of thoſe two languages refuſed to ſubmit to the judgment of the grand maſter. So much diſobedience from all parts gave him great uneaſineſs; but as he truly loved his order, he believed, that another grand maſter, of more capacity and reſolution than himſelf, would make him be more exactly obeyed, and might reſtore an happy correſpondence between the head and members of the order. This was the chief motive that made him deſirous to abdicate his dignity: but the pope, who knew his merit, would not give his conſent; and that pontiff, who, to take off ſome of the burthen from his ſhoulders, was for

ſe tenere & credere firmiter, ſicque confeſſus eſt ſimpliciter quidquid ſancta, catholica & apoſtolica tenet, docet & prædicat eccleſia: & ſi per priùs docendo, legendo, prædicando, aut diſputando, vel aliàs aliud quovis modo prædicaverat, vel dixerit, totum id revocavit, voluitque haberi pro non dicto, ſubmittens ſe & dicta ſua hujuſmodi correctioni et determinationi dictæ ſanctæ matris eccleſiæ, à qua aſſeruit ſe nunquam deviaſſe ſcienter. Gesta Urb. 5. apud Boſq. Rainal. t. 16. ad. ann. 1370. ſect. 23.

for taking cognizance of the affairs of the order, ſummoned a general aſſembly of the principal commanders at Avignon, diſpenſing with the grand maſter's attendance on account of his very great age, deſiring him only to ſend him an account of ſuch
1373. regulations as he judged moſt neceſſary for the reſtoring of diſcipline.

THEY began this aſſembly with examining into the diſputes between the languages of Provence and Italy. The occaſion of this diſpute aroſe from the language of Provence's enjoying, as being the moſt ancient and firſt of the order, the priory of the kingdom of Hungary, and thoſe of Capua and Barletta in Italy, with the commandries of St. Stephen, Monopoli, Venice, and St. Euphemia, which the language of Italy demanded back; inſiſting likeways, that the priory of Hungary ſhould be annexed to it by way of equivalent, and to ſerve as a balance in the chapter to the power of the language of Provence, which alone had more voices than two other languages.

As the language of Provence pleaded in its defence, by virtue of the title of poſſeſſion, the pope referred the determination of the diſpute to the cardinals of Spain and Florence, and by their mediation rather than a rigorous deciſion, it was agreed, that upon the firſt vacancy of the priory of Hungary, the grand maſter and council ſhould collate to it, chuſing indifferently out of the two languages the perſon they thought moſt deſerving, and that afterwards the two languages ſhould nominate to it alternately; that the priories of Capua and Barletta, and the commandries of Naples and St. Euphemia ſhould be annexed to the language of Italy, but that St. Stephen, Eſtonibbia, Alife, Venutia, Monopoli, and their dependencies, ſhould continue, as they were in poſſeſſion of the language of Provence.

IT was enacted in the ſame aſſembly, purſuant to the grand maſter's intentions, and the memorial which he had ſent to the pope, that no knight ſhould enjoy more than one grand commandry, or two ſmall ones, i. e. ſuch

ſuch as their reſponſions did not amount to more than two hundred florins, and that all the reſponſions ſhould be paid exactly every year, on pain of deprivation of the commandry. To theſe they added another regulation, that in the vacancy of the grand maſterſhip, when they were proceeding to the election of one, they ſhould not chuſe the electors out of all the languages, as had been practiſed till then, but that every language ſhould nominate two electors. As to the ſovereign council of the order, a ſtatute was made to determine that it ſhould not be deemed a full one, unleſs there were preſent in it the eight conventual bailiffs, three grand priors, the overſeer of the infirmary, two of the moſt ancient knights of every language, over whom the grand maſter ſhould preſide; who, on account of his eminent dignity, was to have two votes in all aſſemblies, as had been conſtantly practiſed till that time; and that this council, when full, ſhould diſpoſe of all vacant priories and commandries.

THESE wiſe regulations, authoriſed by the pope's approbation, were ſent to Rhodes, and notified to the whole order. The grand maſter received them with a ſenſible ſatisfaction, but death prevented his reaping the fruit of them, that being reſerved to brother ROBERT DE JULLIAC, grand prior of France, whom the chapter of Rhodes elected in his abſence to be their grand maſter. ROBERT DE JULLIAC.

HE was in France reſident on his priory, when he received the news of his promotion; upon which he immediately ſet out for Avignon, 1373. where he paid his duty to the pope. He afterwards changed all the receivers on this ſide the ſea, whom he found negligent in the diſcharge of their office: this was the firſt uſe he made of his authority. His next act was an inſtance of obedience to the holy ſee, taking upon himſelf and his order the property and defence of the caſtle and lower town of Symna, which the confederate army had taken from the Turks, as we have ſhewn a little before. The archbiſhop and inhabi-

inhabitants having complained to the pope, that Ottobon Catafleo their governor, who was rather a merchant than a ſoldier, abandoned them frequently for the ſake of his traffic, to make voyages into Italy, ſo that the place was left without either garriſon or proviſions, the pope ſignified his intentions to the knights, viz. that they ſhould unite Smyrna to the other poſſeſſions of the order. In vain did the grand maſter repreſent to him, that the fortreſs was ſeated in the midſt of the Turkiſh territories, and at ſuch a diſtance from Italy, that in caſe of a ſiege, there was no hopes of a ſpeedy relief; and that likewiſe conſiderable ſums were neceſſary for maintaining the garriſon, which his order was in no condition to furniſh. The pope aſſigned only a thouſand pounds a year for the defraying of this expence, which the treaſurer of the order was to levy upon the tithes of Cyprus. Moreover, as what the grand maſter had repreſented to him about the ſituation of the town of Symrna, viz. that it was ſurrounded by the territories of the infidels, was the very reaſon which had determined him to put the defence of it into the hands of the knights, in expectation that the Turks might have a ſtop put to the progreſs of their arms, when they ſhould have ſuch formidable neighbours; the pontiff ordered the grand maſter and council, under pain of excommunication, to throw immediately into Symrna a ſufficient garriſon, that ſhould conſiſt of a good number of knights and troops in the ſervice and pay of the order. The grand maſter was preparing to ſet out for Rhodes with theſe orders, when he received the unwelcome news that diviſions were broke out between the knights of the convent, and the council. The knights complained that the council, as well in the nomination to the commandries, as in diſputes ariſing between the knights, paid little regard either to the rights of ſeniority or to juſtice, but regulated their nominations and deciſions by the credit which the parties had in the ſociety. The council on their ſide ſent the grand maſter word, that the knights had found out a way of eluding all their orders, by continually appealing

ing to the holy ſee, which entirely ruined the diſcipline and authority of the government. The grand maſter acquainted the pope with theſe reciprocal complaints; and the pontiff, in order to favour ſome particular knights, iſſued out a bull, expreſſly annulling all the nominations made by the council in the vacancy of the maſterſhip and abſence of the grand maſter; but withal, he, by the ſame bull, (after having ſeverely reprimanded the knights that made uſe, as he ſaid, of appeals, for no other end but to withdraw themſelves from the obedience which they owed to their ſuperiors) ordered the council not to mind ſuch appeals for the future, requiring all of them to diſpoſe themſelves equally for receiving their grand maſter, as their lawful ſuperior, and one whom he had inveſted with the apoſtolical authority over them.

THE grand maſter ſet out with theſe orders, and arrived happily at Rhodes. His preſence, his affability, and the exact juſtice which he diſtributed with impartiality to all his religious, without the leaſt diſtinction, ſoon reſtored peace and concord among them. He then acquainted them with the pope's intentions with reſpect to the defence of Symrna; and tho' the principal perſons in the council ſaw plainly, that it was ſacrificing all thoſe knights whom they put on that ſervice, and that it would be the ſending them to the ſlaughter, they nevertheleſs reſolved to obey; nay, a conſiderable number of knights generouſly offered to take upon themſelves an employ in which the danger and glory were equally certain. In fact, there was no likelihood that the Turkiſh emperors, whoſe power was daily encreaſing, would ſuffer the knights to continue peaceable poſſeſſors of a place, and that too in the heart of their dominions, which they had taken from them.

SOLIMAN I. the eldeſt ſon of Orchanes, following his father's ſteps, had in leſs than two years annexed the beſt part of Thrace to his empire, and made himſelf maſter of Adrianople and Philippopoli. As Amurath I. his brother and ſucceſſor lived longer, ſo he extended

tended his conquests much farther. The kingdoms of Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia and Thessaly, and the principalities of Epirus, Achaia and Caramania, which had been formed out of the ruins of the Greek empire, became the object of his ambition: and he looked upon the conquest thereof as a means of opening a way to that of Constantinople. He defeated in battle Cracovilchs king of Bulgaria, and had the same advantage over the Despot of Servia; he had lately reduced the town of Pheres, which was at that time the capital of Macedonia. Mysia fell before him; and the emperor John, or Calojohn Paleologus, advancing into Romania to stop his progress, was entirely routed, and 'tis even said, that this sultan was victorious in thirty six engagements or battles.

YET, as if in all this he had yet undertaken nothing for his glory, he made extraordinary levies of troops in all his territories. So considerable an armament, the marches and countermarches of such a number of troops, alarmed all his neighbours, every body stood upon his guard, without being able to guess on what side he would turn his arms.

THE grandmaster acquainted the pope with all these motions, and with the reasons which made him apprehend that Symrna and even Rhodes might be the secret object of this mighty armament. He represented to him at the same time, that, in the expedition of Alexandria, the order had lost above a hundred knights, whose places had not been filled up with others; that the isle and city of Rhodes wanted a speedy succour, and that he besought his holiness to make immediate provision for it, for fear of any surprise from the infidels.

THE pope on this occasion convocated an assembly of the chief commanders at Avignon, where it was resolved to send five hundred knights, and as many esquires or serving brothers to Rhodes in the month of March following. The priors, pursuant to a particular order of the pope, were to name the knights of their priory whom they thought in a condition to

march;

march; and each knight had the right of chuſing himſelf the ſerving brother that he would have to attend him, and thought fitteſt for his ſervice; which, by the way, is a proof that theſe ſerving brothers were a ſort of eſquires to the knights, and that every knight at that time had a ſerving brother appointed to attend his perſon, and perform military ſervice under his orders. Theſe knights and their attendants arrived ſafe at Rhodes, and the grand maſter and convent were highly pleaſed with ſo conſiderable a recruit. But they had no diſpute this year with the Turks, all whoſe forces fell again upon the Bulgarians and Servians.

THE order however ſuffered more this year from its own members than from the infidels. Domeſtic enemies and the ſeeds as it were of rebellion, ſtarted up in it, which broke out chiefly in England, Caſtile and Portugal.

BROTHER Robert d'Alri prior of England, Sancho de Sumaſſa prior of Caſtile, and Alvarez Gonſalvo prior of Portugal, being cantoned in their priories, and being ſupported by the monarchs of their reſpective countries, refuſed openly to pay their reſponſions. The prior of England founded his diſobedience upon an injuſtice which he pretended the grand maſter had done him, in beſtowing a commandry of Scotland upon a Scotch knight; whereas he maintained that it depended on the prior of England. His ſovereign, who conſidered Scotland as an antient fief of his crown, not only ſupported the prior in his diſobedience, but confiſcated likewiſe the revenues of all the commandries which the order had within his dominions. The grand maſter complained of theſe violent proceedings to the pope, who being informed of the juſtice of his nomination cauſed the proofs of it to be tranſmitted to the court of England, and at the ſame time threatened to excommunicate the prior of that nation, if he did not immediately pay his reſponſions, and get the ſequeſtration taken off the goods of the order, which he had procured to be ſeized. The fear of excommunication brought him back to his duty, as

well as the prior of Caſtile, to whom the like menaces had been intimated from the holy ſee. Theſe fulminations, however terrible they might be, made no impreſſion on the prior of Portugal; upon which the pope, to touch a man to the quick, who was to be wrought upon by nothing but what concerned his intereſt, conferred his priory upon brother John Fernand, commander of Thouloufe, and cited him to appear at Rome, in order to be degraded of the dignity of knighthood, and ſtripped of the habit of the order. The miſchief was, that theſe decrees of the court of Rome had ſcarce any effect with regard to temporalities, any farther than the prince had a mind to ſupport them with his authority; and ſeveral years paſſed away before this rebellious prior returned to his duty.

THIS year is aſſigned for the death of the grand maſter de Julliac, who enjoyed that dignity little more than two years. He was generally regretted on account of his wiſdom, prudence, and particularly the mildneſs of his government. The chapter and convent of Rhodes choſe for his ſucceſſor brother JOHN FERDINAND D'HEREDIA, caſtellan of Empoſta, or grand prior of Arragon, grand prior alſo of St. Giles and Caſtile, who was abſent at that time, he being always near the perſon of the popes, in quality of governor of Avignon, and the Comtat Venaiſſin.

JOHN FERDINAND D'HEREDIA. 1376.

'TWELL perhaps appear ſtrange, after all that hath been ſaid of the conduct of this knight, that the order, the principal dignities whereof he had uſurped contrary to all their rules, ſhould make ſuch a choice? But in all probability the electors conſidered that this knight was ſtill in great credit at the court of Avignon, and that he had the like credit with moſt of the princes of Chriſtendom, who were careful to diſtinguiſh a man of capacity in a peculiar manner, whoſe advice had a great influence in the various reſolutions and conduct of the pope's court. Beſides, a miſchievous ſpirit of

rebellion,

rebellion, ariſing from a ſordid avarice, having for ſome time paſt infected ſeveral of the commanders, 'twas no ill policy in the order to put a man of Heredia's power and authority at their head, in a dignity where the intereſts of the order were no longer to be diſtinguiſhed from his own.

WHATEVER the motives were that determined the electors to chooſe him their grand maſter, the reader perhaps will not be diſpleaſed to have a little more particular account of a knight, who after having played the tyrant over his order, became afterwards a tender father, and one of the principal ornaments of it. John Ferdinand d'Heredia was deſcended from one of the nobleſt houſes in Arragon: Blaſco Heredia, his elder brother, was inveſted with the dignity of d'el juſticia, or great juſticiary; a dignity eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, to curb the regal authority, and hinder the ſovereign from abuſing it, contrary to the privileges of the nation. He diſcharged ſingly that function which the Ephori of Sparta were formerly entruſted with againſt their kings. This lord, having for ſeveral years had no children by his wife, to prevent the extinction of his family, obliged young Heredia his brother, whom we are now ſpeaking of, to marry. He had only two daughters by that marriage, and his wife dying in childbed, his brother, who was ſtill fond of ſeeing heirs of his own name, engaged him in a ſecond alliance, and married him to Donna Thereſa Contellia, niece and heireſs to his own wife; ſo that all the eſtate of thoſe two great houſes was like to center in young Heredia and his children. He had a ſon and a daughter by this ſecond marriage, and was ſoon after left a widower by the death of his ſecond wife; but his elder brother's, after many years of barrenneſs, having been brought to bed of two ſons one after another, he ſaw himſelf at once left without any eſtate, and all his hopes blaſted.

IN this melancholy ſituation, after recommending his children to his elder brother, and without communicating his deſign to any body, he embarked and ſailed for Rhodes, where he deſired to be admitted into the

order, and was received by the grand master de Villeneuve as a knight of the language of Arragon. His noble air, his polite behaviour, and the courage and bravery whereby he distinguished himself in various engagements against the infidels, soon gained him the esteem and affection of the principal knights. He recommended himself particularly to the grand master by the regularity of his life, and by an adroit and insinuating temper, which enabled him with ease to assume any shape that might any way contribute to his advancement.

'TWAS to these rare qualities, and the particular esteem which the grand master had for him, that he was indebted for a faculty commandry (one in the disposal of which favour was allowed) called Alambro, which he either exchanged afterwards, or was promoted from it to that of Villet. And as a great number of the knights, especially of the old ones, had been killed in the Scalado of Alexandria, he rose gradually from one preferment to another, till he came in his turn to be bailiff of Capsa, and afterwards castellan of Emposta, one of the principal dignities of the order, and the most considerable in Europe, after that of grand master, as well from its immense revenues, as from the largeness of its jurisdiction, and the number and quality of its vassals.

FORTUNE, which had hitherto led him as it were by the hand, did not desert him in that conjuncture. The grand priory of Catalonia becoming vacant, two candidates presented themselves for it; the one, in prejudice of the rights and privileges of the order, got a provision to it from the pope; the other, a knight called Peter Berenger Nicossa, claimed the priory by right of seniority. Nor could any doubt be made of his right; and it was moreover the interest of the order, not to suffer the knights to turn their views to the court of Rome, instead of applying themselves to merit preferments by their services. But as at Rhodes they were fearful of offending the pope, the grand master and council resolved to send an embassador to him. The negoti-

negotiation was ſuch as required an able, ſubtle miniſter, and one who was of a tractable diſpoſition, and could find out a way to preſerve the rights and privileges of the order, without violating the papal authority. The grand maſter fancied, that among ſo great a number of knights, he had diſtinguiſhed in Heredia all the qualities of an able negotiator. He nominated him embaſſador to the pope, and got his choice approved of by the council. The inſtructions given to the caſtellan were, that after having complimented the pontiff in the name of the grand maſter and the whole body of knights, he ſhould repreſent to him the injury that the order was like to ſuffer from his nomination; that the greateſt part of the knights would find it a much ſhorter way to arrive at commandries in obtaining them by favour and intrigue, than to wait a tedious number of years, and expect them from length of time, and a ſeries of ſervices; that ſuch proviſions would ruin their diſcipline entirely; that the convent would ſoon be a deſert; and the knights, neglecting their reſidence at Rhodes, and the other duties they were obliged to, would apply themſelves entirely either to the court of Rome, or to thoſe of the princes of Europe.

THE embaſſador had orders to inſiſt ſtrenuouſly on the revocation of the apoſtolic brief; but as they were apprehenſive the pope would ſtand by his nomination, be the conſequence what it would, they gave the embaſſador leave to terminate the affair by an accommodation, if he found the leaſt overture towards one.

HEREDIA ſet out with theſe inſtructions, and arriving at Avignon, in the firſt audience that he had of the pope, he repreſented to him, with great art and eloquence, that tho' the order paid an abſolute ſubmiſſion and all due reſpect to his nomination, yet it could not help complaining of a proviſion which violated its privileges, and was going to deſtroy all that had been done in its favour by the pontiffs his predeceſſors; that he was commiſſioned to lay at his holineſs's feet, who

was the common father of the faithful, the juſt remonſtrances of a body that was conſecrated to the defence of Chriſtianity, but whoſe zeal would infallibly cool, if the ſeveral members that compoſed it, found that they were to be bereaved of the recompence which had till then been always annexed to their ſervices. The pope made anſwer in general terms, importing, that he had heard a very good character of the perſon he had named to the priory of Catalonia, but ſhould not be ſorry if the matter was accommodated in an amicable manner, to the ſatisfaction of the parties concerned, provided it could be done without infringing the authority of the holy ſee. The embaſſador ſaw plainly from hence that there was no bringing the pope to repeal the proviſion which he had granted: he therefore applied himſelf entirely to make up the diſpute, not forgetting at the ſame time his own private intereſt in the accommodation. The two claimants ſaw him often, and he played his cards ſo dextrouſly, that he brought them to agree on dividing the great revenues of the priory, which he prevailed with the pope to approve. He had hitherto carried on his negotiation agreeably to his inſtructions and the grand maſter's intentions; but he deviated afterwards from both, when he found that he might, by devoting himſelf to the court of Rome, get the profits of the priory to himſelf. The two pretenders to it being incapacitated by their age and infirmities to go in perſon and reſide upon the priory, he got the ſtewardſhip of it from the pope. This was the firſt ſtep he took; his next was to abandon openly the intereſts of his order, and without any ſenſe of ſhame, to get himſelf named by the pontiff for their ſucceſſor; ſo that the two knights living but a little while after this proviſion, he was the only perſon that reaped any advantage from their rivalſhip. All Rhodes was prodigiouſly ſurpriſed when they heard after, that their embaſſador, inſtead of following his inſtructions, and oppoſing thoſe nominations of the pope's, had been himſelf a ſollicitor, when he found an opportunity of obtaining them for himſelf.

THERE

THERE was no poſſibility after this of returning to the grand maſter; Heredia was forced to ſtay at Avignon, and adhered entirely to the court of Rome. He ſoon formed himſelf a ſecret plan of all the intrigues and politics of that court, and conducted himſelf with ſuch dexterity, that he had afterwards a great hand in the elections and the confidence of the popes.

NEWS being brought to Clement VI. that Philip de Valois king of France, and Edward III. king of England, were on the point of entering into war againſt one another, made choice of Heredia as a fit perſon to be ſent to thoſe two princes to perform in his name the office of a mediator between them. This knight, whoſe courage equalled his capacity, foreſeeing that a bloody battle would infallibly be fought between them, got a permiſſion from the pope to declare himſelf againſt either of the princes that ſhould decline the mediation of the holy ſee. As Edward had been the aggreſſor, he went firſt to his camp, and gave him an account of his commiſſion. He would fain have engaged him to a ſuſpenſion of arms; but he found the Engliſh prince ſo elated with ſome advantages that he had already obtained, that he could not prevail with him. When he ſaw that he rejected all propoſals of peace with diſdain, and even ſlighted his offices of mediation, the haughty Spaniard, provoked with the little deference ſhewn to his character, declared to him, that as his commiſſion was at an end, by reaſon of his obſtinacy in rejecting it, he would go and fight under the banners of the king of France. He acquainted him at the ſame time with the permiſſion he had from the pope, and thereupon took leave of that prince, and threw himſelf into the French army, which was not long before it came to an engagement with the Engliſh.

THE unfortunate ſucceſs of that day is but too well known; the battle was fought near Crecy in Ponthieu. The French loſt it by the treachery 1346.
of ſome of their commanders, and by the precipitation of others. Philip ſhewed more valour than conduct in the action; he was one of the laſt that ſtaid

in

n the field, and he ſtill fought it out, though he had but ſixty horſemen cavaliers left about him; but his horſe being killed under him, he would infallibly have been taken by the enemy, had not Heredia leapt immediately off his own, and preſented him to that prince, who retired out of the field along with him.

THE caſtellan ſeeing a body of foot that ſtill kept on fighting, put himſelf at their head, and diſputed the victory for ſome time with the Engliſh. But theſe battalions being at laſt overpowered by the victorious army, he was forced to take his fate in the general rout; and as he was grievouſly wounded, it was with great difficulty that he got off, and came up with the ſcattered remains of the French army.

WHILST he lay under cure for four great wounds he had received in the battle, he was informed that they threw reflections on his conduct in the Engliſh camp; and that ſome officers of that nation ſaid, that he being inveſted with the character of an embaſſador, could not fight on the French ſide without violating the law of nations. The knight, as ſoon as he was cured, ſent an herald into their camp to challenge any one who ſhould blemiſh his conduct; and in all probability a private duel would have enſued, had not the king of England, whoſe leave was asked for that purpoſe, done him juſtice, by declaring that he had notified to him before the battle, the permiſſion which the pope had given him at the bottom of his inſtructions, of fighting againſt either of the princes who ſhould reject the conditions of peace which he was commiſſioned to propoſe. He afterwards ſet a negotiation on foot again, as they pretend; and it is to him that hiſtorians aſcribe a truce which the two kings agreed to for a year.

BUT be that matter as it will, he had the ſatisfaction, at his return to Avignon, of ſeeing the pope pleaſed with his conduct; and Innocent VI. ſucceeding to Clement VI. Heredia's fortune became ſtill more illuſtrious under the pontificate of a pope, to whom, as he had ever been a particular friend, he then became his miniſter and confident.

INNO-

INNOCENT, as the firſt marks of his favour, declared him governor of Avignon and the Comté Venaiſſin; and, as if his favourite's fortune engroſſed all his thoughts, he ſeemed entirely taken up with providing for his advancement. He was daily heaping new benefits upon him; he was the channel thro' which all his favours were conveyed; the greateſt princes ſtrove eagerly to gain his friendſhip, and he ſhared the power of the keys with his maſter; or rather, the pope had the bare title, whilſt his miniſter enjoyed all the authority of them.

BY means of this boundleſs credit he amaſſed immenſe riches, part of which he employed in the ſettlement of his children whom he had left in Arragon. And to prevent the imputation of being ungrateful to his benefactor, and provide at the ſame time for the ſecurity of the pope and all his court, he was at the expence of building ſtrong walls about the town of Avignon, fortifying them at proper diſtances with towers, which ſecured the place againſt a ſurpriſe, and put it in a condition of defence. The pope, delighted with theſe great and diſtinguiſhing expreſſions of his acknowledgments, plundered, as we may ſay, the order of the two great priories of Caſtile and St. Giles, to confer them upon his favourite, contrary to all the rules and privileges of that religious ſociety, and in contempt of the important ſervices which the order was doing continually to the Chriſtian world, by the brave reſiſtance they made againſt the infidels[a].

THE death of this pope, who was ſucceeded immediately by Urban V. and afterwards by Gregory XI. was the occaſion of his loſing part of his credit, though his ambition continued as violent as ever; and the grand maſter Julliac being grown very old, he conſidered

[a] Retulere etiam nobilem victoriam hoſpitalarii equites de Turcis in Græcia, quamvis longè numero impares: invecti enim quatuor tantùm triremibus atque oneraria, viginti novem barbarorum naves, dum in eas vicinorum agrorum prædas inferebant, intercepere, ut narrat Matthæus Villanus, Rain. ad ann. 1359. num. 15.

ed that dignity as an honourable asylum against the insults of fortune and the disgraces of the court. He took his measures for it in good time; his friends at the court of Avignon exerted themselves strenuously in his favour; most of the European princes engaged in his interest, and recommended him to the knights who were born their subjects: so that upon Julliac's decease, the convent, however displeased at his conduct, was under a sort of necessity to chuse him for their grand master.

HEREDIA, as soon as he received the news of his election, prepared to set out for Rhodes; but as he had a mind to make his appearance there with forces that might keep up his reputation, and justify the choice of the order, he fitted out at his own expence nine gallies, besides other vessels of different bulk, on board of which he embarked a great number of volunteers, whom he took into his pay. He was ready to set sail, when he found himself obliged to delay his departure at the request of pope Gregory XI. who had just before been chosen successor to Urban, and was for making use of him and his fleet on a great design which he had for some time revolved in his thoughts, and then thought fit to put in execution.

NEAR seventy years had passed, as we have seen, since the holy see had been translated to Avignon by pope Clement V. During this long absence, though the popes pretended to be sovereigns of Rome, that capital of the world was then governed by a magistrate, who took the title of senator[a], and by twelve other citizens, who were called bannerets, from the different banners which they set up to distinguish themselves in their several quarters. Their design, as they endeavoured to persuade the Romans, was to set up the old commonwealth again in Rome; but what they then called Romans were very different from those illustrious republicans, so renowned for the greatness of their sentiments, as well as for their singular valour, which had made them masters of a great part of the universe. These last Romans were only a confused medley, and

[a] Glossaire de Ducange, t. 3. p. 796.

a miſerable remnant of the Heruli, Goths, Lombards, and other Barbarians, who in the precedent ages had over-run Italy. From the time that Rome was become the capital of the popes, the greatneſs of ſoul of the old Romans, their awful love of liberty, their valour and intrepidity, were degenerated into the narrow ambition of attaining the firſt dignities of the church.

THE ſtudy of the laws was the only way to ſuch preferments. Rome, peopled, as it were, with eccleſiaſtics, was ſcarce ever free from cabals: theſe diviſions occaſioned their weakneſs; and the inhabitants of new Rome had ſcarce any thing of the Romans but the bare name. Beſides, that great city, ſince the popes had quitted it, was little more than a country place, and that golden ſtream, which before uſed to flow in from all the ſtates of Chriſtendom, had been turned into another channel, and ran directly into the pope's court. Moſt of the other places of St. Peter's patrimony were either ſeized on by petty tyrants, or elſe, under the ſpecious pretences of liberty, had entered into an alliance with the Florentines, who were then making war upon the pope himſelf, and ravaging the Campagna di Roma.

GREGORY XI. had employed the arms of the church againſt them; they had been publicly excommunicated by a ſolemn bull; and as they did not ſeem much affected with it, the pope had ſent an army into Italy under the command of cardinal Robert of Geneva, as legate of the holy ſee. But the pontiff not meeting with all the ſucceſs he expected, had again recourſe to ſpiritual arms; and to make them cut the deeper, he had ſharpened them as it were after a new and extraordinary manner. He not only aggravated the former excommunication, thundered out againſt the Florentines, but he involved in it all the faithful that ſhould hold any commerce with them, or ſupply them with gold, ſilver, corn, wine, proviſions, wool, cloth, and even with wood to burn: and moreover, ſays the pope, "we "confiſcate all the effects of the Florentines, and en- "join every body to attack them, to ſeize their per-

"ſons,

" ſons, to make them ſlaves, and reduce them to a " ſtate of ſervitude."

THIS bull had all the effect that the avarice of men, animated by the pious credulity of thoſe times, could expect from it. Every body made it a merit to perſecute theſe poor excommunicated people, and to ſeize their effects wherever they could diſcover them. The commerce of the Florentines, in which their main ſtrength lay, was entirely ruined; their debtors refuſed even to pay them; and in foreign countries, particularly in England, ſeveral of their merchants were arreſted by the king's orders, and made ſlaves.

THE Florentines laid down their arms, and ſent embaſſadors to the pope to bring him to temper; but not being able to obtain a repeal of this terrible bull, they had recourſe to St. Catharine of Sienna, a nun of the order of St. Dominic, famous over all Italy for her piety, and eſpecially for ſome revelations and intimate communications with heaven, which ſhe took care to publiſh, tho' it muſt be owned they are a little extraordinary.

THE ſhe-ſaint, at the requeſt of the Florentines her neighbours, embarked for Provence, and arrived ſafe at Avignon. She ſaw the pope, and in an audience ſhe had of him, made him ſuch warm inſtances in behalf of the Florentines, that ſhe obtained the repealing of his bull, though the pontiff had told her, that ſhe would find herſelf deluded by thoſe merchants. This was not the only important commiſſion ſhe had taken: The Romans, deprived of the profit they uſed to reap from the reſidence of the popes and cardinals, and the continual concourſe of ſo many ſtrangers as had buſineſs at the pope's court, had ſecretly ſent deputies to Avignon, conjuring the pope to return to the capital of the Chriſtian world. To determine him to do ſo, they made proteſtations of acknowledging him for their ſovereign, and preſerving an inviolable fidelity to him and his ſucceſſors. St. Catherine employed all her credit to ſecond their requeſt: ſhe repreſented to the pope, that his preſence would quiet all the troubles of Italy,

and

and that by fixing the holy ſee again at Rome, he would likewiſe fix again its authority in all the places that had been ſeized upon by uſurpers.

PETER, infant of Arragon, a Franciſcan friar, and St. Bridget, preſſed him likewiſe to return to his church; but what abſolutely determined the pope to quit Provence and return to Rome, was the advice he received by an expreſs from the cardinal of St. Peter, who was then reſident at Rome as his vicegerent, that the Romans, if he did not return ſpeedily, had reſolved to elect another pope, and had even made ſure of the abbot of Mont Caſſin, a monk not over ſcrupulous, who, without being ſtartled at the guilt that is inſeparable from ſchiſm, had agreed with them to act the infamous part of an anti-pope.

GREGORY, terrified at a project which was going to raiſe a competitor for his dignity, reſolved to prevent ſuch a misfortune by a ſpeedy return into Italy. His own father and mother, William count of Beaufort and his wife, who were ſtill living, and who indeed ſurvived him, uſed the moſt tender intreaties, but all in vain, to keep him in Provence. King Charles V.[a] likewiſe foreſeeing the fatal conſequences that this precipitate journey would occaſion to the church, wrote to him in the moſt preſſing terms, in order to divert him from it. "You are going, holy father, ſays that prince "to him, into a country where you are but very little "beloved; if you die there, as is probable enough "you will, the Romans will get all the cardinals into "their power; and to prevent the court of Rome's "returning to Avignon, will force them by dint of "arms to elect an Italian pope."

BUT notwithſtanding all the preſſing inſtances of that prince, and of moſt of the cardinals who plied him with repreſentations of the ſeditious and mutinous temper of the people of Rome, the pope was inflexible, being prepoſſeſſed with the remonſtrances and advice of St. Catherine, and the other devout perſons abovementioned. He left Avignon, and went to embark at Marſeilles on board the gallies of the order,

[a] Queſta vita Gregorii XI. p. 481.

which were commanded by the new grand master Heredia in person, who had with him the priors of St. Giles, England and Rome, and a considerable number of the knights and commanders of the order.

PETER AMELIO, bishop of Senigallia, who was in this voyage, has given us an exact relation and journal of it, which Abraham Bzovius has taken care to preserve. That prelate represents the grand master with a large white beard, holding the rudder of the pope's galley, and surrounded with all his knights. The same historian too acquaints us, that this little fleet being dispersed by a storm off of the coast of Provence, the grand master by his resolution and skill in the art of navigation, baffled the violence of the winds, and brought the pope safe into the port of Ostia.

THE pontiff, before he made his entry into Rome, got from them, for his own security, and pursuant to the promises made by the magistrates, a declaration, wherein they, in the name of the people of Rome, acknowledged him for sovereign of the city, and all the territory belonging to it. He was afterwards received there in great solemnity with all his court; the grand master going immediately before his holiness, carrying the standard of the church. The magistrates with a crowd of people at their heels, proclaimed the general joy with loud acclamations; but it was soon found that there was more shew and pomp in these outward submissions than fidelity and real obedience; and that the senator and banerets would not easily give up the authority they had usurped.

THE grand master having acquitted himself with so much honour in convoying the pope, took his leave, went with all his knights on board the fleet, and set sail for Rhodes, where all the convent expected him with great impatience. As he was pursuing his course, he met off of the coast of Morea a fleet of Venetians, who were then in war against the Turks: those Barbarians had a little before taken the town of Patras, so famous for its silk trade, from that republic. The Venetian general coming on board the grand master's

galley

galley to pay him his compliments, as he knew his valour and capacity in the art of war, he conjured him in the name of his republic, and for the common good of Chriſtendom, to conſent to join their forces for recovering a place of that importance out of the hands of the infidels. Tho' affairs of great conſequence required the grand maſter's preſence at Rhodes, whither he was going to take poſſeſſion of his dignity; yet his courage prevailed over his intereſt, and he embraced with joy an occaſion of ſignalizing his warlike talents againſt the eternal enemies of his order. The two fleets joined, and landing their troops, they marched ſtraight to Patras, a town ſituated on an eminence, about a quarter of a league's diſtance from the ſea.

As the place had but few fortifications, and took up a great compaſs of ground, the grand maſter tried to take it by ſcalado; ladders were laid againſt thoſe places in the walls that were almoſt ruined, and he took it without any great reſiſtance. The governor had reſerved his garriſon for the defence of the caſtle, into which he retired along with it. The caſtle was ſeated in the higheſt part of the town, and wanted none of the fortifications which art had at that time invented to render it impregnable.

IT was neceſſary to beſiege it in a regular manner; the attacks were ſmart and vigorous, and the defence was as brave. The order loſt ſeveral knights of diſtinction; but at laſt the machines made uſe of in thoſe times, having made a breach, the grand maſter impatient of ſo long a reſiſtance, takes a ladder, claps it to the breach, mounts up firſt ſword in hand, and without minding whether he was followed or no, throws himſelf into the place. The governor on his ſide oppoſes his progreſs with great courage; a ſort of duel enſues between them, till the Chriſtian, more expert or elſe ſtronger than the infidel, runs him thro', kills him, cuts off his head, whilſt his knights, uncertain of his fate, mount up the breach in crowds to his ſuccour, bear down all before them, and breaking into the place, put the garriſon to the ſword.

THE grand master flushed with this good success, and invigorated by the interested praises of the Venetian general, took up a resolution to extend his conquests over all the Morea. Corinth was the first place to be attacked; it was resolved, in a council of war, to take it from the infidels, and the christian army advanced into the territory about it to besiege it. The grand master however, before he sat down before the place, had a mind to view the situation and condition of it himself. But as the convoy he took with him was weak, he fell unhappily into an ambuscade; the Turks cut his small corps in pieces and took him prisoner. The infidels thought they had only taken a private knight; but some deserters discovering his quality to them, they sent him to the castle of Corinth, where they kept him under a strict guard.

THE grand priors of St. Giles, England and Rome, who had followed him in this expedition, offered, with the Venetian general's consent, to give Patras for his ransom; but the Turks rejecting the proposal returned a proud answer, that being masters of the Morea they knew how to recover that place in less time than the Christians had employed in reducing it. The knights inconsolable for the reproach they might lie under of having left their grand master behind them in the hands of the infidels, offered besides Patras, a very considerable sum, and the three grand priors in hostage to be kept till the whole was paid.

THE Turks seemed to come into this last proposal; but when they acquainted the grand master with it, he generously opposed it, and would never consent that the three grand priors should be put into the infidels hands as hostages on his account, saying, "Let me "alone, my dear brethren, suffer an useless old man, "that cannot live much longer, to die in prison: and "do you that are younger, reserve yourselves to be "serviceable to the order." In vain did his knights, who had got leave to see him, labour by their prayers and tears to gain his consent for this exchange; nothing could shake his resolution. He would not even allow

allow his ranſom to be paid out of the treaſury of the order: "if it muſt be paid ſaid he, my family hath "received eſtate enough from me to give this proof of "their gratitude." The Turks, regardleſs of ſo noble a generoſity, ſent him into the mountains of Albania, to oblige him to be the more expeditious in paying his ranſom. He was there ſhut up in a cloſe priſon, and inſtead of enjoying his new dignity at Rhodes, he was kept above three years in a rigorous ſlavery, where he had time enough to make ſerious reflections on the little ſolidity of human grandeur.

DURING his captivity a furious ſchiſm broke out, which diſtracted the church for above fifty years afterwards; the order of St. John having the misfortune to be involved in it, as well as all the ſtates and other orders of Chriſtendom. We have ſeen how pope Gregory XI. prevailed upon, by the promiſes and pretended ſubmiſſions of the Romans, and ſeduced, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, by the confidence he had in St. Catherine's predictions, had quitted Provence, and fixed his reſidence at Rome, the natural ſeat of all the ſovereign pontiffs.

BUT he had not continued long there, before he had the mortification to find, that the ſpirit of rebellion was ſtill reigning in that city; and the magiſtrates, in contempt of the moſt ſolemn oaths, far from paying the obedience which they owed him, had reſumed their firſt authority and perpetuated themſelves in the government. The juſt reaſon he had to fear, leſt after his death theſe mutineers ſhould tyrannize over the conclave, and force it to elect whom they pleaſed for his ſucceſſor, made him take the reſolution of returning to Avignon. But being ſeized with a ſudden illneſs which carried him off, a little before he died, holding the holy ſacrament in his hands, he conjured all the cardinals, who aſſiſted him in thoſe his laſt moments, to chuſe that perſon for his ſucceſſor whom they ſhould find moſt worthy of that great dignity. He cautioned them againſt giving credit to certain perſons of both ſexes, who under colour of pretended revelations, pro-

poſed their own viſions as a rule of conduct to be obſerved in the government of the church; which by the too great confidence he had therein, joined with the ſeditious temper of the Romans, was going to expoſe the church to the danger of a terrible ſchiſm, if the Saviour of the world did not of his infinite goodneſs interpoſe to preſerve his ſpouſe from it [a].

'Tis plain whom the holy pontiff meant in this diſcourſe: and his apprehenſions were unhappily juſtified by the event, and proved truer than the predictions and prophecies which had impoſed on him.

For as ſoon as his eyes were cloſed, the bannerets and magiſtrates of the city, for fear a new pope ſhould tranſlate the holy ſee to Avignon, reſolved to oppoſe the election of a French cardinal, and to force the members of the conclave to chuſe a Roman, or at leaſt an Italian for pope. 1378. Mar. 27.

WITH this view they ſeized and put guards at the gates of the city, as in a garriſon and time of war, for fear the cardinals ſhould get out unknown to them and retire to ſome city of Italy, where they might proceed with freedom to the election of a pope.

THIS ſeditious gang drove afterwards out of Rome, all well deſigning perſons, and ſuch as could oppoſe the violence they were offering to the cardinals; and then let in a company of banditti and peaſants of the neighbouring mountains, a ſavage ſet of men, whom they ſupplied with arms, and who running over all quarters of the city, threatned a general maſſacre, if they did not chuſe a Roman, or at leaſt an Italian, for pope. "Romano lo volemo, ô al manco Italiano," was the cry of theſe furious wretches, to whom the dregs of the people joined themſelves, and to which they were ſecretly inſtigated by the magiſtrates.

THE diſorder did not end with this tumult; for when the cardinals, after the ten firſt days employed about

[a] Quia per tales ipſe ſeductus, dimiſſo ſuorum rationabili conſilio ſe traxerat, & eccleſiam in diſcrimen ſchiſmatis imminentis, niſi miſericorditer providere ſponſus Jeſus. Gerſon. exam. doct. part 2. Wading. an. minor. t. 4.

about the funeral of the deceaſed pope were paſſed, prepared to go into the conclave; the ſeditious ſeized on the doors, and declared, that if they reſolved to chuſe a foreign cardinal for pope, "they would make "their heads redder than their hats[a];" and to haſten the election of an Italian, the moſt furious among them piled up faggots of vine twigs and ſtraw under the place where the cardinals were aſſembled, as if they were ready to ſet it on fire. Others ſtruck againſt the floor with pikes and halberts; and in order to force them to comply, they preſented death before them in ſeveral ſhapes; all of them equally frightful and terrible.

THE cardinals, ſays an hiſtorian of that time, chuſing rather to be ranked in the number of the confeſſors than that of the martyrs, did, to ſave their own lives, and pacify theſe furious wretches, agree to name an Italian for pope. But before they proceeded to an election ſo viſibly extorted from them by violence, the foreign cardinals, and even ſome of the Italians, made a proteſt before public notaries, that the election was extorted from them, and that they did it only to avoid an immediate death; and that when they ſhould be free and in a place of ſafety, they would proceed to a new and more canonical election. They afterwards named for pope Bartholomew Prignano, a Neapolitan, archbiſhop of Bari. They made ſo unexpected a choice, in hopes that this prelate, who was looked upon as the moſt learned man in all Italy in canon law, and was likewiſe an eye-witneſs of the violence offered them, would not make uſe of it to maintain himſelf in a dignity to which he had not been raiſed according to the rules of the church. Some hiſtorians go ſo far as to ſay, that when he ſaw the violence uſed againſt the cardinals, not imagining that he ſhould reap the benefit of it himſelf, he ſaid to one of his friends, who was then with him in St. Peter's church, "that he would never acknowledge any one for pope, "whom the cardinals ſhould be forced to chuſe with "daggers at their throats."

BUT

[a] Froiſſart, t. 2. ch. 12.

BUT when those princes of the church had sent to fetch him, in order to notify his election to him, he received the news at first with great surprise: but these first sentiments soon made way for those of joy; and ambition made him readily give his consent. In vain did the cardinals, after this forced election, sollicit him to leave Rome, under pretence, as they said, of ratifying his nomination in a free place; the ambitious Neapolitan, far from giving into the snare, declared that he looked upon his election as lawful and regular, and to hinder the cardinals from repeating it, had recourse to sedition; and made use of it to keep them in Rome, notwithstanding all their endeavours to leave it. They were forced by a new violence to assist in person at his taking possession of the pontifical chair, and the ceremony of his coronation, when he took the name of Urban VI.

THIS was not all he exacted of the cardinals[a]; he obliged them to write letters to the principal potentates of Christendom, to certify that his election was free and canonical. The cardinals who saw themselves every day, as it were, in a state between life and death, to satisfy a man whom they considered as their tyrant, signed whatever he required of them, but gave private notice at the same time to several princes, particularly to Charles V. king of France, that they should not mind what they wrote so long as they were in Rome. Their design was to get out of town, and they got leave at last on pretence of the great heat. But instead of retiring to their respective country houses, most of the foreign cardinals that were in Italy went by concert to Anagni, from whence they wrote to the king of France and all the princes of Christendom to inform them of the violent manner in which they had been forced to put the archbishop of Bari in the chair of St. Peter, transmitting at the same time an exact account of all that had passed at Rome since the death of Gregory XI. with authentic copies of their protests. They wrote

[a] Theod. de Niem.

wrote likewiſe to the new pope, repreſenting to him, that nobody was better acquainted than himſelf with the defects of his election; that being an eye-witneſs of the violences offered them, he could not but be ſenſible that he was no true pope; and they conjured him, in the moſt preſſing terms, generouſly to quit a dignity, which he could not keep any longer without expoſing the church by his ambition to the terrible calamities of ſchiſm, for which he would be accountable to the divine juſtice.

URBAN rejected their exhortation and entreaties with diſdain, and treated them as rebels and ſchiſmatics. He ſeemed afterwards to be a little mollified, and to bring them back to his court, offered them a general pardon, which the event ſhewed would have been ill obſerved, had they ſuffered themſelves to be impoſed on by his promiſes. The cardinals, from a principle of conſcience, as we may ſuppoſe, retired to Fondi, a ſtrong place in the kingdom of Naples; and for their ſecurity, got a guard of foreign troops, Gaſcoons and Bretons, which Gregory XI. had taken into his ſervice for the defence of St. Peter's patrimony. 'Twas in this town that they proceeded anew to the electing of a pope, and after ſhutting themſelves up in a conclave, cardinal Robert of Geneva, brother to Amé count of Geneva was at the firſt ſcrutiny elected by the unanimous voices of a majority of the college of cardinals, and was afterwards crowned by the name of Clement VII.

THE two popes ſoon made the ſchiſm notorious by the anathema's which they thundered out reciprocally againſt one another, and againſt all that followed the oppoſite party. All the princes of Chriſtendom were divided on one ſide or other in this famous diſpute, ſome adhering to Urban, and others owning the authority of Clement. Nor were there wanting on either ſide famous univerſities, eminent divines, learned canoniſts, and even perſons of great ſanctity, famous, as is pretended, for their gift of miracles, to declare in favour of the oppoſite parties, as if God almighty were

not

not willing it ſhould be known which of the two was the lawful pope.

THIS ſpirit of diviſion ſpread itſelf into the order of St. John and infected the knights: the grand maſter Heredia being ranſomed by his own family out of the hands of the infidels, and all the convent of Rhodes declared in favour of Clement [a], and the languages of Italy and England, with ſeveral commanders of Germany, acknowledged Urban. This pope, to have his revenge againſt the grand maſter, declared that he had forfeited his dignity; and not being able prevail with the convent to elect another in his ſtead, he named brother Richard Coracciolo prior of Capua for grand maſter by his own authority. Thus were there at the ſame time two grand maſters in the order, as there were two popes in the church. But excepting Italy and England, and ſome commanders in Germany, as we ſaid before, all the reſt of the order adhered inviolably to the authority of Clement, and continued ſubject to the government of Heredia.

THIS grand maſter, who was formerly graſping ſo much at riches and honours, had, whilſt he was in captivity among the infidels, time enough to reflect on the vanity of all human grandeur. Adverſity, a ſevere but uſeful miſtreſs, returned him back to his order, a diſintereſted and modeſt man, full of zeal, over-actuated by the ſpirit of his profeſſion, ſtrict as to his own conduct, and without any view but the good of his order, the maintenance of diſcipline, and his own ſatisfaction.

DURING his captivity, and a year before he was ranſomed, brother Bertrand de Flotte, a grand
1380. commander, and the grand maſter's lieutenant, had held a general chapter at Rhodes, in which ſeveral regulations were made, which would have

[a] Rhodiorum pariter equitum magiſter ſchiſmatis laqueis ſe irretiit, ut queritur Urbanus, qui ob eam rem vectigalia quæ in Germania Rhodio magiſtro pendebantur, pontificio fiſco inferri juſſit. Rain. ad ann. 1387. num. 16.

have been uſeful, if there had been authority enough in the government to enforce the obſervance of them. It was there enacted, that the collations which the grand maſter and council ſhould make of the commandries of Europe, ſhould be received with ſubmiſſion, notwithſtanding the pretenſions of ſome priors who had aſſumed to themſelves a right of naming to thoſe commandries that fell vacant within their priories; that the great eſtate which compoſed the commandry of Cyprus ſhould be divided into ſeven portions and ſeven commandries, and that the firſt of the ſeven parts ſhould go by the name of great commandry, with the right and title of grand croſs; and that the other ſix ſhould devolve upon the knights according to their ſeniority, and be ſubject to the juriſdiction of the grand commander; that the commander of the iſle of Coos or Langos ſhould be obliged to maintain twenty five knights, and every knight of the order ſhould be bound to keep an horſe and his equipage, exerciſe himſelf in ſhooting with a croſs-bow, and be always in a readineſs to march upon the orders of his ſuperiors; and if he failed, ſhould be deprived of the allowance and penſion that he received from the treaſury.

To theſe regulations ſeveral articles were added, relating to the conduct of the grand maſters, to oblige them to a ſtrict reſidence at Rhodes. It had been enacted, that they ſhould not confer any dignity, nor give away any commandry out of the convent: and to prevent an abuſe which was introduced inſenſibly by the grand maſters, who ſollicited at the court of Rome, to be eaſed of the burthen of their dignity, a ſtatute was made, that when a grand maſter was worn out with years, or on account of his infirmities had a mind to abdicate the grand maſterſhip, he ſhould not be allowed to reſign it, unleſs he did it to the general chapter or the convent at the head of the order, who had the ſole right of providing him a ſucceſſor.

THE grand maſter, having in the mean time paid his ranſom, came to Rhodes, where he took poſſeſſion

of

of his dignity and government. He thereupon cauſed an eſtimate to be laid before him of the reve-
1381. nues of the order and the ſtate of the treaſury: two things very neceſſary for the preſervation and defence of the iſles and places belonging to the order in the Mediterranean ſea, and on the coaſts adjoining; and he was very ſenſibly afflicted, when he found that in the time of his captivity a deſtructive anarchy had, by the favour of the ſchiſm, crept into the order, and that moſt of the knights, eſpecially the priors and commanders, had made themſelves independent, and acted as they ſaw fit, without any regard to their obligations. Some of them paid no deference to the orders of the council, any further than they found their own preſent intereſt promoted by them. Thoſe of the North ſcarce kept up any correſpondence at all with the convent; they did not make good their reſponſions, or elſe paid but a very ſmall part of them; and as the order was obliged to furniſh ſubſiſtence and pay to the ſoldiers that were in garriſon in the fortreſſes belonging to the knights, they had been forced to borrow conſiderable ſums, the bare intereſt of which ſwallowed up all the revenues they could draw from Rhodes.

THE grand maſter conferring with the council about the diſtreſſed condition of the order, and the difficulties of providing a ſuitable remedy, the council was of opinion, that nothing but a ſuperior authority, ſuch as that of the pope, could correct ſuch great diſorders. They entreated the grand maſter to go to Avignon, where pope Clement reſided; but as they were apprehenſive he might ſtay too long in a court where he had ſpent part of his life, and ſtill remembred, that whilſt he was in favour with ſeveral popes, he had diverted moſt of the reſponſions of France and Spain to his own profit, the council, before he embarked, required him to take a ſolemn oath, that he would pay all the money that he received from the reſponſions of the order into the public treaſury; and in order to bring him back the ſooner, that he ſhould not, during his abſence, nominate to any dignity of the order, as had been reſolved

reſolved in the laſt chapter held at Rhodes during the time of his captivity.

THE council carried their precautions ſtill farther, and under pretence of providing him an honourable attendance, they ſent with him Bertrand de Flotte grand commander, Buiſſon prior of the church of Rhodes, Eſton de Slegleolts commander of Friburg, and William de Fontenai commander of Eſpaillons, all of them knights truly zealous for the obſervance of the ſtatutes, and who reſolved to maintain them inviolably: but the event ſhewed how needleſs theſe precautions were, and that the grand maſter, after his advancement to that dignity, had no other view in all his actions but the good of his order. 'Twas this motive that engaged him, before he ſet out, to appoint brother Peter de Culant marſhal of the order to be his lieutenant at Rhodes, a gentleman as much diſtinguiſhed by his illuſtrious birth as by his ſingular valour. The grand maſter, upon his arrival at Avignon, having paid his duty to the pope, and taken the oath of obedience, repreſented to him the deplorable condition the order was reduced to, by means of the unhappy ſchiſm that had infected it, and deprived the public treaſury of the reſponſions of the ſchiſmatical commanders; that even the commanders who continued ſubject to his authority, were ſcarce more exact in their duty to the order, and were ſtill making uſe of one excuſe or other to keep from paying that juſt and neceſſary tribute, and that they were afraid of preſſing them on this article, for fear leſt the ſpirit of avarice, that poſſeſſed them, ſhould make them fancy it no diſhonour, whilſt the ſchiſm ſtill kept up its head, to change ſides under pretence of chuſing the right one. Clement entered into his views, and agreed, that in ſuch a juncture there was no dealing with them, nor means of reclaiming them, but by gentle methods; for which purpoſe the pontiff, by his authority, called ſeveral chapters, one after another, at Valence and Avignon, and in the caſtellany of Empoſta for Spain.

THE grand master presided in all these assemblies, and laboured still more effectually by his example than he could by his discourses, to revive a spirit of union and charity in his knights. Several seemed really concerned; some engaged to go away immediately for Rhodes; others offered to pay the arrears of their responsions. But as these supplies were neither present nor considerable enough, by reason of the schism in the order, and that Rhodes and Smyrna were equally threatened with a siege by Bajazet I. sultan of the Turks, the grand master generously sacrificed part of his great estate to the succour of the order, and sent at different times, ships loaden with arms and provisions to Rhodes and Smyrna, taking care in the same manner to remit considerable sums thither for paying the soldiers in their service.

'TWAS from the same spirit of piety, and perhaps from a motive of penance and restitution, that he employed the great fortune he had acquired before his being raised to the grand mastership, in founding at Capua and Rubulo in Arragon, a commandry for his knights, and a collegiate church of twelve priests for the chaplains of the order, annexing thereto for ever for their subsistence, the manor of Exariel, and a moiety of the revenues of the castle of St. Peter.

BROTHER Richard Caracciolo prior of Capua, whom pope Urban VI. by virtue of his own authority, had nominated grand master in Heredia's stead, desirous of imitating this liberality of his, founded, at his own expence, a famous monastery of religious ladies of the order, in the city of Florence, by the title of the nuns of St. John.

DAME Perrere Viviani was the first commandress of this convent; and no young lady could be admitted into it till she had first produced proofs of her noble descent, which were to be examined by the prior of Pisa, under the direction of the grand master. Caracciolo enjoyed that title with respect to Italy and England during his life; but upon his death, Boniface IX. who, during the schism, had succeeded

to

to Urban VI. foreſeeing that if he ſhould provide him a ſucceſſor, he would never be owned by the ſo indeſt part of the order, for their grand maſter, to Heredia's prejudice; contented himſelf, as if the grand maſterſhip had been vacant, with diſpoſing only of the title of lieutenant to brother Boniface of Caramandre, his own relation. But excepting Italy and England, as was before obſerved, the whole order adhered inviolably to the grand maſter, whoſe great qualities commanded their reſpect and reverence. This prince died that very year at Avignon, in a very old age, after having governed his order nineteen years and eight months. His body was carried to the church of Capſa, which he himſelf had founded, and became afterwards the head of a bailiwick. March 1396.

IN his private life he diſtinguiſhed himſelf as much in the quality of a great captain, as in that of a skilful courtier; was graſping at wealth and honours, and ſacrificing every thing in order to raiſe his family; and purchaſed in his ſon John Ferdinand d'Heredia's name, the caſtles and lands of Mora and Valbonne, ſeveral other manors, and among the reſt the county of Fuente, which his deſcendants enjoy at this day. But after he arrived at the grand maſterſhip, he became diſintereſted, liberal and magnificent, zealous for the ſupport of diſcipline, and eſpecially for the defence of the rights and privileges of the order, which he had formerly ſo openly violated, in order to aggrandize himſelf. We have ſome excellent laws, or rather wiſe ordinances, inſtituted by him, ſtill preſerved in the book of ſtatutes, which ſhew his zeal and great capacity in government. He had learned from his own faults, of which ambition was the ſource, how to prevent thoſe of his ſucceſſors. From the time that he became grand maſter, he was, as we may ſay, another man; and it were to be wiſhed, either that he had never entered into the order, or that the condition of human nature would have allowed him to have always continued in the government of it.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Knights Hoſpitallers

OF

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Styled afterwards,

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at preſent,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

BOOK VI.

WHEN the news of the grand maſter Heredia's death arrived at Rhodes, the knights that were then in the iſland aſſembled in a body to provide him a ſucceſſor. Their choice fell upon brother Philebert de Naillac, grand prior of Aquitain, a gentleman equally eſteemed for his wiſdom and valour. The order indeed, during the ſchiſm, which divided it as well as the whole Chriſtian church, ſtood in need of a chief of his conſummate prudence; nor was he leſs ſerviceable to it in the wars it was afterwards obliged to maintain againſt moſt of the eaſtern princes.

PHILEBERT DE NAILLAC. 1397.

SCARCE had the new prince of Rhodes taken poſſeſſion of his dignity, when he was ſollicited to enter in-

to

to a league againſt Bajazet the firſt of the name, and fifth ſultan of the race of the Ottoman Turks[a], who threatened Hungary with a cruel invaſion. Sigiſmond, of the houſe of Luxemburg, and ſon to the emperor Charles IV. was then upon the throne of that kingdom in right of queen Mary his wife, a prince, whom adverſity and the various diſgraces he had paſſed through in his youth, had rendered very skilful in the arts of government, but he was a much better politician than a general. The ravages which the Turks made almoſt every year on the frontiers of his territories, obliged him to make application to the pope for ſuccours. The pontiff, for that purpoſe, formed a powerful league againſt the infidels, in which he engaged Charles VI. king of France, Philip the Hardy, duke of Burgundy, the republic of Venice, and the knights of Rhodes. Manuel, emperor of Conſtantinople, deſired to be comprehended in it; and ſeveral petty Chriſtian princes, as well Latins as Greeks, ſued for the ſame favour, but very little ſuccour came from their ſide; and their names were of no other uſe than to increaſe the number of ſignatures that were put at the bottom of this famous treaty. Charles VI. alone furniſhed more troops than all the other allies put together. They pretend that there went out of France, upon this expedition, above a thouſand knights with banners, or cheiftains of companies, and more than a thouſand eſquires, who generouſly abandoned their country in a warmth of zeal to ſignalize their courage againſt Bajazet.

THAT infidel prince was the ſon of Amurath I. whom a ſlave of Lazarus, Deſpot of Servia[b], ſtabbed in the midſt of his guards, to revenge 1383. the death of his maſter, whom the barbarous ſultan had taken in an engagement, and cauſed to be ſtrangled in his preſence[c]. Bajazet, before the news of his father's death became public, obliged a ſecretary of ſtate to write a letter in his father's name to prince

[a] Abu-Jeſid-Benmorad-Gazi.

[b] Hiſtoire des Turcs, t. 1. p. 45. chez Foppens.

[c] Laon. Chalcondyl. t. 1.

Giacup his brother, to come immediately to him. The unfortunate prince, having no notion of the cruel deſtiny that was to befall him there, came to Adrianople, where Bajazet, to get rid of a rival in the empire, ordered him to be ſtrangled with a bow-ſtring, a fatal inſtrument, which moſt of his ſucceſſors, out of a pretended ſcruple of ſhedding blood ſo precious as that of the Ottoman race, have generally made uſe of to diſpatch the princes of their family.

BAJAZET, freed from a competitor, applied himſelf to ſecure the dominions left him by his father, and enlarge them by new conqueſts. He was a prince full of fire, of a courage equal to his ambition, warm, bold, and enterprizing; always on horſeback and in the field, thirſting after the blood of his enemies, and prodigal of that of his own ſoldiers. He looked upon the art of making one's ſelf feared, as the ſureſt rule in politics[a]. He firſt fell upon Bulgaria, and the ſovereign of the country falling by the fate of war into his hands, he cauſed him to be immediately ſtrangled. He next ravaged Boſnia and Croatia, carrying off more captives than he left inhabitants. Macedonia was not exempted from the fury of his incurſions; and he fell down from thence upon the Morea, reduced part of it, and on the ſide of Conſtantinople, forced his way through to the very walls of the city. He would willingly have beſieged it in form, but not having a number of forces ſufficient for ſo great an enterprize, he only blocked up that capital of the Greek empire, with ſeveral detachments of troops, which he poſted in different quarters about it.

HE went to finiſh in Aſia, the campaign he had begun ſo ſucceſsfully in Europe. Paſſing the Helleſpont, he over-ran Cappadocia and Phrygia with the ſame rapidity, and without diſtinguiſhing the princes of his own, from thoſe of the Chriſtian religion. He attacked Aladin, ſultan of Cilicia, but finding too much reſiſtance on that ſide, he turned his arms againſt ſome petty

[a] Philippi Lonicerii Turcica. Hiſt. l. 1.

ty princes of the Turcomans, of the old Seljucidian race, called Ethein-Sarkhan-Mendez Teko, and Metin, who were poſſeſſed of different diſtricts of Anatolia, and plundered them of their dominions. Could he but made himſelf maſter of their perſons with the ſame facility, he would have given them no better treatment than he did the king of Bulgaria: but thoſe princes, knowing his bloody temper, took a ſeaſonable refuge at the court of Tamerlane, the great Cham of Tartary, another conqueror, who had reduced Perſia, Meſopotamia, and a great part of Syria.

BAJAZET, after theſe expeditions, left prince Ortogules his ſon, in Aſia, at Burſa, the capital of his dominions, to ſhew his ſubjects at once the authority of his own reign, and the expectations of his ſucceſſors. He returned afterwards into Europe, and fixed his reſidence at Adrianople, from whence he ravaged Attica and Theſſaly, conquered part of Macedonia, defeated the prince of Wallachia, and forced him to ſubmit to pay him tribute. The rapidity of his incurſions allowed no time to oppoſe them, which gained him the ſirname of Ilderim, i. e. the thunder or the ſtorm. A ſmall body of his troops, detached from the body of his army, advancing on the ſide of Delphos, Theudelinda, the widow of Don Louis Davalos, whoſe predeceſſors had ſeized on that little 1394.
ſtate, fearing to be beſieged by that conqueror, went out to viſit him at a diſtance, and in his camp made him magnificent preſents, and preſented him her daughter, who paſſed for one of the greateſt beauties of the eaſt. The charms of the young princeſs diſarmed Bajazet, who valued this conqueſt more than he did that of Delphos. He left Theudelinda miſtreſs of it, and brought away her daughter with him in exchange. At the end of the campaign he ravaged the frontiers of Hungary, deſtroying all before him with fire and ſword. They ſay, that as he retired, he ſent back ſome priſoners to Sigiſmond, charging them to tell that prince, by way of an inſulting threat, that he would return the next ſpring to viſit him, and when he had drove him

out

out of his dominions, would paſs into Italy, as far as Rome; would plant his ſtandards on the top of the capitol, and feed his horſe with oats upon the very altar of St. Peter.

THE pope, alarmed with theſe threats, publiſhed a ſort of cruſade againſt that infidel prince, which was the occaſion of the league above mentioned. The Greek emperor, the Venetians, and the knights of Rhodes, put a ſtrong fleet to ſea, under the command of the noble Thomas Mocenigo, who lay off the mouth of the Danube all the campaign, whilſt the king of Hungary made all the nobility and gentry of his country, as well as the militia of the nation, take the field. France alone, as we have already obſerved, furniſhed more regular troops than all the other allies together; and when they were ready to march, the king gave the command of that body to John count of Nevers, eldeſt ſon to the duke of Burgundy. Philip d'Artois, a lord of the blood[a], as the ſtile was at that time, and conſtable of the kingdom, went with that young prince; and there were in the ſame army the count de la Marche, Henry and Philip de Bar, all three related to the king; John de Vienne, admiral of France, the marſhal de Boucicault, the ſire de Coucy, one of the moſt conſiderable lords of the kingdom, and yet more diſtinguiſhed by his admirable valour than his riches; Guy
1397. de la Tremouille, the ſeigniors of Roye, St. Paul, Montorel and Sampi, and in a manner all the moſt illuſtrious youth of France, who were inflamed with an eager deſire of coming to an engagement with the infidels.

THIS French cruſade marched through Germany, and as they paſſed through Bavaria and Auſtria, were joined by brother Frederic, count of Zollern, grand-prior of Germany, at the head of the knights of his nation. All theſe troops came into Hungary about the ſame time that the grand maſter arrived there from Rhodes, followed by the principal commanders, and a great number of knights of his order. Sigiſmond, who knew

[a] L'Hiſt. Anon. de S. Denis, l. 26. c. 2.

knew their valour, declared that he would fight at their head, lodged them in his own quarter, and kept the grand maſter near his perſon.

BAJAZET was at this time in Anatolia, tho' others ſay he was encamped near Conſtantinople, his troops continuing the blockade of that place; and though he was informed of the mighty ſuccours arrived in Hungary, yet he made no motion at all; whether he confided in the valour of the governors, whom he had put in the principal places of his frontiers, or would allow time for the impetuoſity of the French to cool, or perhaps flattered himſelf that jealouſy and diſſentions would not fail to break out ſoon in ſo vaſt a body as the Chriſtian army, compoſed of different nations; and that the change of air and diet, and the difficulty of getting proviſions, might occaſion ſickneſs in the camp; in fine, whatever were his motives, he like a wiſe prince, reſolved at firſt to try what time would produce in his favour. The only precaution he took was to keep the Chriſtians from knowing any thing of his march, and whether he was ſtill in Europe or Aſia. The allies having no news of him, paſſed the Danube, entered Bulgaria, took ſome little places, and on a particular occaſion, a party conſiſting only of French, and commanded by the ſire de Coucy, cut to pieces the troops which the ſultan had left in the country, who had advanced to diſturb the Chriſtians in their foraging. This trifling advantage, the number and valour of the Chriſtian troops, the facility they had afterwards in ſending out the parties on all ſides, puffed up the ſoldiery with preſumption; the very generals were infected with that dangerous poiſon of a too favourable fortune, and Bajazet was not talked of but with contempt.

THEY ſaid that he was lurking in the farther part of Aſia; the marſhal de Boucicault maintained in council that he durſt not paſs the Helleſpont; and an Hungarian hiſtorian relates[a], that Sigiſmond ſeeing himſelf at the head of an hundred thouſand men, of which ſixty

[a] Bonfin. rer. Hung. Dec. 3. l. 2. p. 379.

ſixty thouſand were horſe, moſt of them men of arms, bragged that he would not only drive the Turks out of Europe, but that if the ſky ſhould fall, his ſoldiers were numerous enough to bear it up with the points of their lances.

THIS confidence, raſh in itſelf, and ever dangerous in the event, made him undertake the ſiege of Nicopolis, a ſtrong place, defended by a numerous garriſon, commanded by Dogamberg, one of Bajazet's principal captains. This Turkiſh officer ſoon made the Chriſtians ſenſible, by his frequent ſallies, that it was much eaſier to ravage the open country, than to take a place, the government of which had been put into his hands; there were freſh combats every day, and the Chriſtians did not gain an inch of ground but what coſt them the lives of their braveſt ſoldiers. This vigorous reſiſtance weakened the army of the allies conſiderably, whilſt luxury and debauchery, two enemies yet more dangerous than the Turks, infected all the camp, which, by the young gentry, was made a place of public proſtitution. It looked as if they thought the pious motive of their expedition was a ſufficient diſpenſation to authoriſe their violating with impunity the moſt eſſential obligations of Chriſtianity[a]. The French eſpecially paſſed whole days with common proſtitutes, and in pleaſures as ſcandalous as they were eaſy to be obtained. The ſoldiery, by their example, drowned themſelves as it were in wine, and their drunkenneſs could not even be moderated by their indigence; they paſſed away every moment like ſo many bacchanals, which ſcandalized even the very Turks, as well as the Chriſtians that inhabited the country. This looſeneſs in military diſcipline, and the little care taken by the commanders to ſend out parties for intelligence, allowed Bajazet time to advance with great ſecrecy to the ſuccour of the place beſieged; he was but a day's march off when the Chriſtians believed him ſtill in Anatolia. Some ſoldiers that had ſtraggled out for pillage were the firſt that brought the account that the ſultan

[a] Hiſt. Anon. de S. Denis, l. 10. c. 10.

tan was within ſix leagues of the camp; they were eager to carry the firſt intelligence of it to the generals. Marſhal de Boucicault, ſtill ridiculouſly poſſeſſed with his firſt notion, and that the Turks durſt not venture a battle, rejected the advice brought with great contempt, and turning to thoſe marauders, "You raſcals, "ſays he, you ſhall dearly repent putting the camp in "alarm with your falſe news[a]." He went ſo far as to threaten cutting off their ears; but he was ſoon undeceived of his fatal prepoſſeſſion; and they ſaw the van of the enemy's army appear, advancing in good order, and drawing up in battle array in the plain.

To this exceſs of confidence, ſucceeded ſurpriſe, tumult and confuſion, in the Chriſtian camp. The count of Nevers, who did not think that the Turks could, with their javelins and ſcymitars, reſiſt the lances and ſwords of the French, made his cavalry mount on horſeback. He pretended to have the poſt of honour in the field of battle, and inſiſted on making the firſt charge upon the infidels; but the king of Hungary repreſented to him, that that great multitude of Turks, which covered the neighbouring plains, were only militia and peaſants, ſorrily armed, that had been brought out of Aſia in chains, and dragged to the war by force; and that it was the general cuſtom of the infidels to put a great body of theſe fellows before them, and expoſe them to the firſt fury of their enemies only to fatigue them, that afterwards they might, with the freſh and regular troops, which they had in reſerve, make their advantages of the diſorder and motions that would inevitably happen in the beginning of an engagement; that the Hungarians, in imitation of their practice[b], uſually oppoſed this ſort of enemies with militia of like nature, of whom they made as little account; that he earneſtly beſought him to permit his infantry to ſtand the firſt ſhock of the infidels; that his cavalry might afterwards, with their lances, open and pierce through the thickeſt battalions of the Janizaries; that he would ſuſtain his attack with the grand maſter at the

[a] Hiſt. Anon. l. 16. c. 11. [b] Id. ibid. c. 11.

the head of his knights, and the gentry of his own kingdom; and that after all, he desired him to remember that the honour and glory of a battle did not so much consist in the first onset, as in the last attack, which put an end to the engagement, and decided the victory.

THE count of Nevers assembling his council, to give an answer to this representation, addressed himself first to the sire de Coucy, whose advice the duke of Burgundy his father, had, at parting, recommended to him to follow. That lord, considering the experience which they had in Hungary, of the manner in which the Turks drew up their troops in battle, approved the order and disposition proposed by the king of Hungary, and supported his opinion by saying, that it would be impossible for the militia of that kingdom to give back when sustained by the French cavalry. The admiral John de Vienne, an old captain, was of the same opinion; but the constable and marshal de Boucicault being piqued that the prince had addressed himself to the sire de Coucy, before he asked their sentiments, declared that it would be scandalous for the French nation to march after the Hungarian foot; and that they were not come so far to let themselves be preceded by a crowd of sorry peasants and militia, more used to run away than to stand their ground. All the young men, inveigled by this discourse, and hurried away by a mistaken emulation of glory, brought over the count of Nevers by their clamours into the same sentiment. The prince therefore notified to the king of Hungary, that the French could not yield the post of honour in battle to any nation. He ordered his cavalry immediately to mount on horseback, but before they drew their swords against the enemy, these violent and hotheaded young men put them to an use that was unworthy of the name of Christians as well as of Frenchmen. These knights, under pretence that the prisoners which they had taken in several occasions might embarrass them in the action, massacred them all in cold blood, without any regard to the faith and promise

miſe they had given them of ſaving their lives, upon paying the ranſom agreed on between them.

THEY afterwards gave the ſignal of battle; the French going on to charge, found themſelves ſtopped at firſt by a palliſado, and ſeveral rows of piles ſharpened at the end, which embarraſſed the cavalry, and hindered them from marching cloſe together, and in good order. There was a neceſſity of diſmounting, to force and remove this obſtacle, which, when they had done, the men of arms mounted again on horſeback, and fell upon the Turkiſh infantry poſted over againſt them; meeting firſt in their way the great body of militia, which made very little reſiſtance, as the king of Hungary had foretold. Thoſe peaſants, who did not merit the name of ſoldiers, ſuffered themſelves to be cut to pieces, or ſought their ſafety by flight. The Janizaries or Turkiſh infantry, compoſed of regular troops, ſhewed more courage and reſolution. They fought with a valour no way inferior to that of the French; the fight was long and obſtinate; at laſt the French lances open a way into the thickeſt battalions of the enemies: the Turks keep their ground no longer: every thing that appears to make head is puſhed back, beaten down, and hemmed round; terror ſeizes every quarter, and ſafety is to be found no where; and thoſe formidable janizaries, after loſing above ten thouſand men, were forced to retire behind a great body of cavalry that advanced to their ſuccour [a].

THIS was a ſort of a ſecond engagement which the French were forced to come to with the infidels. The Turkiſh cavalry advanced with a large front. The Chriſtians, to prevent being ſurrounded, extended themſelves in a long line, and without keeping their ranks duly, or taking any orders but from their own courage; every man of arms, as if the victory had depended on his ſingle valour, threw himſelf in among the Turks with ſo reſolute a courage, that nothing

[a] Id. ibid. c. 12.

could reſiſt their impetuoſity. The Hungarians, who ſeemed only come to be ſpectators of the battle, and the infidels themſelves could not ceaſe admiring a bravery that ſeemed ſuperior to the ordinary force of nature. Five thouſand Turks fell in this ſecond engagement; and the French would have ended the day victorious, and covered with glory, had not the fire of thoſe young men hurried them on to the purſuit of the remainder of that cavalry, which had retired to a neighbouring hill.

In vain did the chief commanders, and particularly the ſieur de Coucy, and admiral de Vienne adviſe them to let the infidels fly, or at leaſt to ſuffer themſelves to take breath, and form their ſquadrons anew whilſt the Hungarians advanced. All the young gentlemen about the count of Nevers, crying out, that it was cowardly to let their enemies eſcape, puſhed on immediately, and without keeping any order, or letting their horſes take breath, galloped away to a great diſtance from the body of the army, and mounted the riſing ground where they thought to have found the broken remains of the Turkiſh army.

But what was their ſurpriſe, when in their ſtead, they diſcovered a new army, compoſed of forty thouſand horſe, the flower of Bajazet's troops? The ſultan was poſted in the middle of that grove of lances, as in a citadel, in order to take his meaſures as events might happen. The ſoldiers ſtart at the ſight, and are daunted; they even ſuſpect their firſt advantages; the certainty of vanquiſhing, which may be called the firſt earneſt of victory, vaniſhes at once, and fear and terror ſoon ſucceed to a raſh confidence. Theſe heroes, who like lions, make the Turks tremble before them, ſays the anonymous author of St. Denis, "became "more daſtardly than hares." the whole body breaks, and every one flies for the ſafety of his own life. Bajazet's cavalry cuts off their retreat: the greateſt part of the French was cut in pieces, and no leſs than three thouſand of them taken priſoners, among whom were

[redacted] Ibid. c. 12.

were the count of Nevers, the count de la Marche, the prince of Bar, Boucicault the conſtable, and Enguerrand de Coucy. The admiral de Vienne ſeeing all loſt, made a motion to ſave himſelf, when immediately calling to mind what he owed to his glory, and turning about to ten or a dozen horſemen that ſtuck to him[a]. "God forbid, my companions, ſays he to "them, that we ſhould ſully our reputation for the "ſaving a poor remainder of life; we muſt try fate "by a noble defence, or die here in the bed of ho-"nour." His words were ſcarce ſpoke, when he charged the infidels, pierced ſeveral times into their ſquadrons, and after firſt ſeeing his companions fall, oppreſſed with the number of their enemies, he himſelf, covered over with wounds, expired on the very ſpot where he was fighting.

THE Turks having broke this great body of French, marched with all the confidence that the beginning of a victory inſpires, ſtraight againſt the Hungarians, who were encamped along the banks of the Danube. Their infantry, which was only compoſed of militia, as we have obſerved, terrified at the defeat of their allies, did not wait the coming up of the enemy, but broke and fell back upon their own cavalry, filling all with terror and confuſion; ſo that it was a general rout rather than an engagment on this occaſion. Such of the gentry of the nation, and the knights of Rhodes that ſurvived, rallied about the king and the grand maſter: and tho' they ſaw their ruin was inevitable, by reaſon of the prodigious number of Turks that ſurrounded them, no body diſhonoured himſelf ſo far as to endeavour to ſave his own life by flight; they all ſtood their ground, and fought with a bravery worthy of a better fate. The greateſt part of theſe gallant gentry, and a great number of the knights, died on the ſpot they fought on. The king and the grand maſter would have ſhared the ſame fate, if in the diſorder of the general a rout they had not by chance found a fiſherman's boat by the river ſide: this

[a] Id. ibid. c. 12.

they got into, and in ſpite of a ſhower of arrows which thoſe barbarians let fly at them, put off from the ſhore, and letting themſelves drive with the current, got to the mouth of the river, from whence they diſcovered the Chriſtian fleet that was riding near it. The king and the grand maſter, overwhelmed with grief, went on board one of the gallies of the order, which carried them ſafe to Rhodes. The king, notwithſtanding the loſs of ſo many knights, was received there, if not with joy, yet at leaſt with all the reſpect due to his birth and dignity. There are other hiſtorians who pretend that he ſtopped on the coaſt of Dalmatia [a].

THE day after the battle, Bajazet ordered his priſoners to be brought and maſſacred in his preſence, by way of repriſal for the Turkiſh priſoners which the Chriſtians, before the battle begun, had ſacrificed to a ſhameful precaution. The ſultan, whoſe avarice ſerved for a counterpoiſe to his cruelty, exempted the count of Nevers and twenty five of the principal nobility out of the general maſſacre, in hopes of having a great ranſom for them; and the money being come from France, when the count de Nevers went to take leave of him, "I do not require thee, ſays Bajazet to "him with an haughty air, to take the moſt ſolemn "oath never to fight againſt me, as I might
1398. "force thee to do; on the contrary, if "thou haſt any ſenſe of honour, I entreat "thee to take the field as ſoon as thou canſt, and "to aſſemble all the forces of Chriſtendom: thou "canſt not do me a more ſenſible pleaſure, than by "furniſhing me with new occaſions of acquiring "glory."

THE ſultan, after ſo glorious a victory over the Latin Chriſtians, turned his arms againſt the Greeks, his troops over-running the Morea, and deſtroying all before them with fire and ſword. He afterwards called in all his detachments, and joining them in one body, advanced towards Conſtantinople, and changed the blockade of it into a regular ſiege. The emperor Manuel, terrified

[a] Bonfin. ib. p. 379.

terrified at ſeeing ſo formidable an enemy before his walls, begged for ſuccours of all Chriſtian princes; but the different wars which then diſtracted Europe, did not allow him to expect any immediate relief; and beſides, the loſs of the battle of Nicopolis, and the tears that were ſtill ſtreaming for the death of ſo many noble lords as had periſhed there, had cooled the zeal of the principal nobility and gentry. The Greek emperor therefore ſaw himſelf reduced to have recourſe to Tamerlane the great cham of Tartary. He ſent embaſſadors to him with rich preſents, entreating him to uſe the power of his arms, or at leaſt to interpoſe his good offices, in order to put a ſtop to the enterpriſes of an ambitious prince, who, without any diſtinction of religion, was for enſlaving all the ſovereigns that were in the neighbourhood of his dominions.

WHILST this great affair was treating at Tamerlane's court, Thomas Palæologus, deſpot of the Morea, and brother to the Greek emperor, conſidering that great potentates never aſſiſt little ones *gratis*, laid no ſtreſs upon that embaſſy: he therefore retired to Rhodes, from whence the king of Hungary was juſt gone, to return into his own dominions. The Greek prince was received full as honourably as the king of Hungary, in an iſland which ſerved at that time for a refuge to all Chriſtian princes that were perſecuted by the infidels. Palæologus, diffident of his own ſtrength, and perhaps of his courage, ſold the Morea to the order of St. John *, and agreed with the grand maſter and council, to deliver up to them Corinth, Sparta, and the principal towns of that great province: he received the price ſtipulated for them, partly in money, and the reſt in jewels. 1399.

THE commiſſaries of the order embarked immediately in order to take poſſeſſion of the province; they were received with great joy by the magiſtrates and inhabitants of Corinth, who thought themſelves, under the protection of the knights of Rhodes, ſufficient-

* Bozio l. 4.

ly ſecured for the future from the incurſions of the Turks.

BUT the inhabitants of Sparta acted very differently. The biſhop of that city, who followed the Greek ritual, and was conſequently an enemy to the Latins, not queſtioning but the order would, as ſoon as they were maſters of the place, put a Latin biſhop into his epiſcopal ſee, called all the citizens together, and repreſented to them the misfortune they were going to be expoſed to by ſubmitting to the power of the Latins, in ſo warm and moving terms, that all the inhabitants by concert ſent a deputation to the commiſſaries of Rhodes, to tell them, that they were reſolved not to admit them into their city; and that if they offered to come near it, they ſhould be treated as enemies; ſo that the commiſſaries not having forces enough to make themſelves be obeyed, reſolved to return back to Rhodes.

THE deſpot being naturally inconſtant, and finding it hard, after he had reigned as a ſovereign, to reconcile himſelf to the condition of a private man, gave back part of the money, went from Rhodes, and returned to Sparta, where he was received with great joy by his ſubjects, who aſſured him that he ſhould find the ſame obedience from them, and the ſame fidelity that he had experienced for ſo many years, provided he would not treat with the Latins, nor admit any of them into the government: ſo great and ſo implacable was that averſion which the Greek biſhops had inſpired into their people, againſt every body that acknowledged the authority of the pope; and I don't know whether they would not have ſubmitted to the government of the Turks, rather than to that of any Chriſtian prince whatever, in the communion of the church of Rome.

THE order had a great deal of trouble in getting back from the Greek prince the reſt of the money, which they had given him. Raimond de l'Eſtoure, prior of Tholouſe, Elias du Foſſé, commander of St. Maxence. and Peter of Beaufremont, the grand hoſpitaller,

pitaller, made ſeveral voyages into the Morea on that account. At laſt this affair was terminated by brother Louis d'Allemagne, commander of Naples, a knight of an inſinuating temper, and a very able negotiator; and by the treaty made with Palæologus, it was ſtipulated, that the order of St. John ſhould deliver back to him the town of Corinth, and he ſhould give in exchange the county of Soleil, with the barony of Zetonne, beſides 46500 ducats, which he was to pay back of the money he had received at Rhodes, and of which he paid 22000 down.

BAJAZET in the mean time carried on the ſiege of Conſtantinople with vigour, deſigning to make it the capital of his empire, and would at laſt have taken it, had not Tamerlane, the great cham of the oriental Tartars, at the ſollicitation of the Greek embaſſadors, and the entreaties of the petty princes of Anatolia, whom Bajazet had plundered of their territories, advanced to put a ſtop to the progreſs of a prince who ſeemed inclined to put no bounds to his ambition and conqueſts. 'Tis more than probable, that the Mogul or Tartar prince engaged in this war, not ſo much out of a principle of compaſſion, rarely to be met with in princes, as out of jealouſy againſt a neighbour who was grown too powerful.

WHATEVER be the motives with which princes uſually ſet off their manifeſto's, Tamerlane made uſe of none but what were noble and generous, and he ſent an embaſſador to Bajazet, to demand of him the reeſtabliſhment of the petty princes that had taken refuge at his court, and that he would at the ſame time raiſe his ſiege from before Conſtantinople. The embaſſador preſented him likewiſe in his maſter's name with a magnificent veſt; but as in the eaſt, preſents of that ſort are never made but to inferiors, Bajazet, the proudeſt mortal living, rejected it with diſdain. When he mentioned Tamerlane, he treated him as a ſoldier of fortune, and a captain of a band of robbers, and ordered his embaſſador to tell him, from him, that if he was daring enough to enter into his dominions, he

he knew how to make him repent ſo raſh an enterpriſe.

THERE are ſome authors who pretend that Tamerlane was only the ſon of a ſhepherd, or an herdſman. Some modern hiſtorians, or rather ſome modern tranſlators of old hiſtorians, derive his deſcent from a royal houſe among the Moguls of Zagathay. The Tarikh Montekh pretends, that he was deſcended from Gingkizkhan by the woman's ſide; and yet he took upon himſelf at firſt only the title of Emir, i. e. commander; to which, after he had conquered ſome provinces, he only added that of Kurkhan, or the ally of princes; which might incline one to think, that he did not at that time look upon himſelf as a prince. But fortune having raiſed him to the dignity of great cham, his extraction grew up in proportion to his power, and he at laſt became too potent not to be deſcended of royal blood.

WE are but little better informed of the religion of this prince, than we are of his birth. There are ſome who ſay, he was neither a Jew, a Chriſtian, nor a Mahometan. Ahſneben-Arabſchach ſays, that he adhered to the law of Ginghizkhan, and that his religion had a greater affinity to the Chriſtian, than to the Mahometan; yet it looks as if from a political view he accommodated himſelf, at leaſt as to the outward exerciſe, to the worſhip and religion of the greateſt part of his ſubjects, who were Mahometans; the reſt was indifferent enough to him, and contenting himſelf, as Ginghizkhan did, to adore a firſt being, and one God alone, he very freely left him the care of his own glory, and the eſtabliſhment of his law.

WHATEVER was the caſe as to the birth and religion of Tamerlane, the Arabian Alhacen, in the hiſtory or romance of his conqueſts, pretends that this prince or chieftain of the Moguls, at the head of a numerous army, firſt reduced under his empire, falling upon 'em ſucceſſively one after another, all the Tartar princes that poſſeſſed the north of Aſia; that he gained victories over the Muſcovite, and afterwards ſubdued Perſia,

ſia, Meſopotamia and Syria; that he made the ſultan of Egypt tributary to him; that ſome monarchs of the Indies were obliged to take an oath of fidelity to him; and that China itſelf, or at leaſt the nothern part of that vaſt empire, owned him for its ſovereign; ſo that during the whole courſe of his life, a victory ſerved only to open a freſh occaſion for a new war: and if we may believe Alhacen, the whole world was attentive, and turned its eyes upon his enterprizes, which became, ſays he, the greateſt ſpectacle of the whole univerſe. This famous Tartar had a ſtern look, ſquinting eyes, a lowring countenance, and a terrible and menacing air, that broke out in all his actions.

SUCH was the greateſt of all the ſucceſſors of Ginghiskhan, and the ſecond hero of the ancient Mogul Tartars. But without adopting all the fables publiſhed about him, 'tis certain that he was a great captain, a native of Zagathay, who by his valour raiſed himſelf to a prodigious fortune, and by his activity, courage, and admirable diſcipline, made himſelf the terror of all his neighbours. He was otherwiſe cruel and bloody in his temper, and it was his uſual ſaying *, "That a monarch was never ſafe, if the foot of his "throne did not ſwim in blood;" a maxim worthy of a Tartar, and which he never deviated from during the whole courſe of his reign.

THIS barbarous prince, upon receiving Bajazet's anſwer, took the field at the head of 800,000 men, that followed him, and were commanded, under him, by the princes his ſons, and by other princes his tributaries: But the abſolute power which he exerciſed indifferently over both, ſunk them to the level of the meaneſt officers, and all of them were equally ſubmiſſive to the power and majeſty of this dreadful monarch.

No ſooner had he declared war againſt Bajazet, but he attacked Sebaſte or Siuvas, a city of Cappadocia. Ortogules, a young prince, full of fire and courage, had

* *Hiſt. de Tamerlan. par M. Petit de Croix.*

had thrown himſelf into the place, in order to ſignalize his valour, in hopes of ſtopping the Tartar's progreſs, and giving time to the ſultan his father, to advance to his relief: but notwithſtanding the valour of the prince, and all the bravery ſhewn by the garriſon in its defence, nothing could reſiſt the violence of the attacks of Tamerlane. The place was carried by ſtorm; the ſoldiers, and all perſons capable of bearing arms, were put to the ſword, the women and maidens, the children and the old men, were all carried out of the town into a plain, where they were maſſacred, without diſtinction of age or ſex. The city was afterwards razed to the ground, and the Tartar, who never reckoned clemency and generoſity among the virtues, cauſed the ſon of his enemy to be beheaded.

BAJAZET, whoſe conſtant proſperity rendered the inſults of fortune more inſupportable to him, abandoned himſelf to a violent grief when he heard the fatal news. He loved his ſon tenderly, and took pleaſure in ſeeing the ſeeds of ambition and glory, which he had inſpired him with, take root and grow up in the heart of the young prince. A death ſo unworthy of his rank and birth, threw him into inexpreſſible tranſports of rage: he ſwore the deſtruction of Tamerlane, and hurried away with the violent deſire of a ſpeedy vengeance, without allowing himſelf time to raiſe a ſufficient body of troops to make head againſt ſo mighty an enemy, he raiſed the ſiege of Conſtantinople, paſſed the Boſphorus, and advanced towards Phrygia.

HISTORIANS relate a paſſage of him, viz. that as his army was on the march, he ſaw a ſhepherd upon a neighbouring hill, who ſecured by his poverty from the rapaciouſneſs of the ſoldiery, was playing quietly upon his pipe. The ſultan ſtopped for ſome moments to hear him, and being full of grief, and perhaps envying the condition of the poor man, "Shepherd, ſays "he to him, I beg of thee let the burthen of thy ſong "be, for the future, to repeat theſe words, Unhappy "Bajazet, thou ſhalt ſee no more thy dear ſon Orto-"gules, nor thy city of Sebaſte!" After this, he continued

tinued his march, and met the Tartars near Angouri, or Ancyra, the capital of Galatia. He had ſcarce above 120000 men in his army, moſt of them natural Turks, without reckoning an hord of Tartars that inhabited beyond the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas, commanded by Mahmoudkhari, who had inliſted himſelf under Bajazet. As the ſultan had experienced the valour of the Treballians, before he had entirely ſubdued them, he drew from them a body of foot, though contrary to their inclinations; and fear and terror, the only bonds of ſlavery, forced them to expoſe their lives to ſupport the dominion of a prince, whom they looked upon as a tyrant over them. 1399.

THE battle was fought at the foot of Mount Stella, and in the very plain where Pompey had formerly beat Mithridates. The ſhock of the two armies was terrible, and the action very bloody: the Treballians diſtinguiſhed themſelves by an extraordinary valour, victory began to declare itſelf in their favour, and they purſued the Tartars whom they had obliged to run away. Bajazet fearing that the heat of the action ſhould carry them too far, ſent them orders to return to their poſt. They obeyed: Tamerlane rallied his troops, put himſelf at their head, and ſhewed them at the ſame time the retreat of the Treballians, repreſenting it to them as a downright flight. He gave orders to prince Saruch his ſon, who commanded a wing of his army, to charge them, which he did, and after a bloody fight, forced them in their turn to fly away. The Aſiatick Turks terrified at their defeat, quitted their ranks without ſtriking a blow; and Bajazet found by experience, that in an engagement there was no making the leaſt motion without danger, before ſo able a general as Tamerlane.

We have obſerved, that Bajazet had a great body of Tartars in his army. Thoſe barbarians, bribed by their own countrymen, deſerted the ſultan's party in the very height of the combat; and their commander, to give the finiſhing ſtroke to his treachery, purſued the Turks in their rout, killed great numbers of them, took

took Bajazet priſoner, and preſented him to Tamerlane.

THERE are very different accounts of the manner in which the Tartar received him. Some hiſtorians ſay, that he reproached him with his pride, his cruelty, and his preſumption; "Oughteſt thou not to know, ſays "he to him, that none but the ſons of the unfortunate "dare reſiſt our invincible power?" Other writers pretend, on the contrary, that Tamerlane received him with great civility; that he conducted him into his own tent, entertained him at his table, and to comfort him under his affliction, diſcourſed of nothing but the viciſſitude and inconſtancy of fortune. They add, that he ſent him an hunting equipage, either from a principle of compaſſion, or elſe perhaps from contempt; and that the haughty Tartar felt a pleaſure in letting him know, that he thought him fitter to follow a pack of hounds, than be at the head of a great army.

THIS at leaſt was the interpretation that Bajazet himſelf put upon the myſterious preſent of his enemy. That unfortunate prince, having no command over his reſentment, and being eaten up with a ſurly melancholy, "Tell Tamerlane, (replied he with an air of haughti-"neſs, to the man who came from him with the pre-"ſent,) That he has acted very right, in inviting me to "an exerciſe that hath always been the diverſion of "princes, and is much fitter for Bajazet, who derives "his birth from the great Amurath the ſon of Or-"chanes, than for a ſoldier of fortune, as he is, and a "captain of a band of robbers."

TAMERLANE ſoon reſumed his true character, and provoked at ſo outrageous an anſwer, gave orders that very moment for putting Bajazet without [illegible] upon an old horſe that had been uſed to carry the baggage, and expoſe him in that manner through the camp, to the jeſts and raillery of his ſoldiers; which was immediately executed; and at his return they brought the unhappy Bajazet back before his conqueror, who asked him, with a ſcornful ſneer, and in the moſt

moſt cutting terms, if that recreation was not likeways one of the pleaſures with which his illuſtrious anceſtors uſed to divert themſelves? To theſe ſharp invectives another outrage ſucceeded, that pierced him to the very ſoul.

BAJAZET had married Miliera, or Mary, daughter to Eleazar deſpot of Servia. The Turks called her Ucogli; ſhe was the moſt dear to him, and the beſt beloved of all his wives. Tamerlane, who had taken this princeſs in the town of Burſa, which he had reduced juſt before, cauſed her robe to be cut ſhorter than the knee, and in this condition, in a manner half naked, forced her to wait upon him at table, and fill out his liquor in her husband's preſence. Bajazet, who had no weapon left him but his tongue, diſtracted with anger and indignation, and perhaps with jealouſy, told him aloud, that ſprung as he was from the dregs of the people, and from parents too obſcure to be known, he ought to be aſhamed of trampling upon royal blood, and of being wanting in the regards due to a princeſs whoſe birth commanded reſpect from him.

THE Tartar only laughed at the impotent rage of his priſoner; he carried him about afterwards in his train, loaden with chains; and they even pretend, that he cauſed him to be ſhut up in an iron cage like a wild beaſt. Bajazet could no longer ſupport ſuch a number of outrages; and his misfortune was the greater, becauſe he had always been happy before. Some hiſtorians pretend, that life growing inſupportable to him, he, to put an end to it, knocked out his brains againſt the bars of his cage. Other writers relate, that a ſlave having inſolently thrown him a fiſh-bone, as he would have done to a dog, Bajazet, after having ſharpened it with his teeth, made uſe of it to diſpatch himſelf: others ſay, that make him die of an apoplexy, as they were conducting him to Samarchand, the capital of Tamerlane's dominions.

As all the deſigns of that prince had ever tended to an imperious ſovereignty, he had no ſooner triumphed over the power and life of Bajazet, but he propoſ-

ed to reduce all the other princes of Anatolia. Moſt of them, thoſe eſpecially who had implored his protection againſt Bajazet, were continually making their court to him; but under the name of allies, they were little different from his other ſubjects, and their chains were no leſs heavy for being gilt. There was none but the grand maſter of Rhodes and his knights, who, though eternal enemies to the Turks, would not yet crouch under the power of the Tartar; this was the reaſon which obliged him to declare war againſt them. But as he had no fleet to tranſport his army croſs the ſea, and beſides, as the whole iſland of Rhodes was defended by baſtions, redoubts, towers and bulwarks, and ſeemed to make but one ſingle fortreſs, and to defy an attack on any ſide, the Tartar choſe rather to begin with Smyrna, a city inhabited by the knights, rich by its commerce, and having the convenience of a port, which in time might ſupply him with ſhips to tranſport his troops into the iſle of Rhodes, and the other iſlands in the Mediterranean and Archipelago, which he was deſirous of conquering.

THE city of Smyrna, as we have already obſerved, is ſituated in that part of Aſia which was peopled by the Greeks, and known antiently by the name of Ionia, though ſince called, as it is at this day, Anatolia. The town was built like an amphitheatre, on the declivity of an hill that lay to the ſouth-weſt; but from the middle up to the very top of this hill, nothing was to be ſeen but ruins; the lower part was always well inhabited. In Tamerlane's time there was a caſtle which guarded and commanded the port. Brother John de Biandra, prior of Lombardy, when he took this fort, had put the arms of the church upon it. And though Clement VI. who was at the head of the chriſtian league, aſſumed to himſelf the honour of this conqueſt, yet Gregory XI. one of his ſucceſſors, weary of the charge of maintaining a garriſon in it, granted the property of it to the knights of St. John, who undertook to defend it.

'TIS

'Tis eaſy to imagine, from what has been obſerved in the courſe of this hiſtory, what a vaſt expence the maintaining of this place, and the fortifications which they added to it, were to the order, they always keeping there a numerous garriſon, commanded by ſome of the knights. The grand maſter ſeeing himſelf on the point of being attacked, either by Bajazet or Tamerlane, according as fortune ſhould decide of their fate, ſent brother William de Mine, the grand hoſpitaller of the order, to command in Smyrna; and he threw into the place at the ſame time a ſupply of ammunition and proviſions, a body of freſh troops to reinforce the garriſon, and a ſum of money for the paying of them.

TAMERLANE, who knew that Smyrna was ſtill better fortified by the number and valour of its defendants, than by its fortifications and height of its walls, in order to prevent the dangers and length of a ſiege that might prove a very bloody one, made no other demand but what he thought neceſſary for his glory, inſiſting only as a point of honour, that the knight, who commanded in the place, ſhould ſuffer him to plant his ſtandard upon the towers; but the governor rejected this propoſition with indignation, there was no remedy left, but the fortune of war muſt decide that of the place. Tamerlane,[a] incenſed at the refuſal, cauſed it to be inveſted; his troops began their attack by filling up the ditches with earth, hurdles and faſcines, whilſt their archers were plying thoſe that

S 2 defend-

[a] Hic etiam Tamerlanus Smyrnam tunc fortiſſimum caſtrum [illegible]ercia, vicinum Turcorum dominio, quod erat hoſpitalis ſancti Joann[illegible] Hieroſolymitani, etiam ea tempeſtate, vi deſtruendo ſolo æquavi[illegible]nen quidam Cathalanus qui pro eodem hoſpitali erat capit[illegible]ſi verbum dicti Tamerlani ſuper illo collocare voluiſſet, [illegible] cujuſdem epiſcopi chriſtiani, Tamerlanus illud nullatenu[illegible]eſtruxiſſet: ſed quia dictus Cathalanus illud cum faſtu ſe[illegible]aliàs recuſaret facere, dictus Tamerlanus hoc ægrè ferens, et vim viribus accumulans, tandem dictum caſtrum cepit et deſtruxit totaliter; adeo quòd etiam, ut ipſimet fratres dicti hoſpitalis aiunt, cum centum millibus florenorum auri in ſtatum priſtinum reduci non poſſet. Theodorici à Niem de Schiſmate. Liv. 2. cap. 30.

defended the walls, with ſhowers of arrows. The knights made frequent ſallies to hinder their works from advancing; there was every day ſome skirmiſh or other in which thoſe ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt ſtrove with emulation to ſignalize their valour againſt the infidels.

THE next thing Tamerlane had recourſe to was that of undermining the walls: but the Chriſtians throwing down great pieces of rock, large ſtones, and beams of timber, cruſhed the moſt daring in pieces, and hindered the reſt from coming near the foot of the walls. The Tartar provoked at ſo brave a reſiſtance, and greater deſigns calling for his preſence in other places, he reſolved, in order to take the place with a greater expedition, to attempt a ſcalado. With this view he cauſed a prodigious number of wooden towers to be built: they were a ſort of walking machines, which the beſiegers puſhed upon wheels, and brought very near the walls. Chalcondilas, ſpeaking of this ſiege, ſays, that Tamerlane put two hundred men in every one of theſe towers, which had ladders within them, and a ſort of ſtair-caſes to go up to the different floors. The loweſt floor was generally deſigned for the workmen who conducted the machine, or for the ſoldiers who worked to undermine the wall; the middle floor was to be on a level with the top of the wall, and contained a bridge which was to be thrown down upon the wall itſelf, for the beſiegers to paſs upon it and force their way into the place; and, upon the higheſt floor they placed their archers, who, having the advantage of the higher poſt, infeſted and drove off with their arrows ſuch as offered to defend the place.

CHEREFEDDIN ALI, a native of Yedz[illegible] contemporary author, tranſlated out of the Perſian [illegible]gue into the French, by the late M. Petit de la Croix junior, has left us a relation of the ſiege of Smyrna; and tho' that author does not expreſsly name the knights of Rhodes, yet it is very eaſy to diſtinguiſh them in the deſcription that he gives of the defenders of the place;

and

and I fancy it will not be diſagreeable to the reader to copy that paſſage of his hiſtory. The Perſian hiſtorian, who died in 1456, expreſſes himſelf on this ſubject, in theſe, or ſuch like terms.

" TIMUR was informed, that there was upon the " ſea-coaſt a place exceeding ſtrong, built of hewn " ſtone, ſurrounded by the ſea on three ſides, and on " that of the land by a deep ditch, all built with lime, " and cemented from the top to the bottom; that " there was a great number of Europeans within it; " that it was called Iſmir or Smyrna; that the Greeks " looked upon it as an holy place; and perſons re- " ſorted thither from remote countries in pilgrimage " with great devotion, who there offered up their " vows, and brought their alms; that there was near " it, about the diſtance of an horſe's courſe, another " fortreſs upon the ridge of a mountain, called alſo " Iſmir, but poſſeſſed by Muſulmen, who were con- " tinually at war with thoſe of the other place, on ac- " count of their difference in religion; and as the " Smyrna of the Chriſtians was ſurrounded by the ſea " on three ſides, they were relieved from Europe by " ſea, and had proviſions, cloaths, arms, and all other " neceſſaries brought them that way. And as this " place was ſeated in the fartheſt part of the frontiers " of Aſia, and the country of the Muſulmen, the " Greeks carried on from thence a cruel war, and de- " fended the place, as being of the utmoſt conſequence " to them; that it had never been taken by any Mu- " ſulman prince, nor ever paid tribute to any body; " that Amurath, the father of Bajazet, had taken the " field ſeveral times at the head of a mighty army with- " out being able to carry his point, and that Bajazet " himſelf had kept it beſieged for ſeven years toge- " ther without making any progreſs in it; that this " place infeſted the Muſulmen exceedingly, and no- " thing was to be ſeen but ſlaughter and ſtreams of " blood flowing continually into the ſea like tor- " rents.

" WHEN Timur was informed of the ſtate of Smyr-
" na, his zeal for religion perſuaded him that it was
" his duty to deliver the Muſulmen from trouble by
" entirely deſtroying their enemies. He detached
" thither the Mirza Pirmehemet Gmarchoicz, the Emir
" Check Nouredden, and others, with orders, firſt to
" ſummon them by an embaſſador to embrace the
" Muſulman religion, (for ſuch is Mahomet's order;)
" that if they ſhould be happy enough to do ſo, his
" pleaſure was that they ſhould be kindly treated, and
" that they ſhould give him notice of it, in order that
" he might beſtow his favours upon them; that if
" their obſtinacy ſhould ſoften, and whilſt they deſir-
" ed to continue Chriſtians, would ſubmit to pay tri-
" bute, they ſhould regulate the ſum with them and
" receive it; but if, unhappily for them, they ſhould
" dare to ſtand upon their defence, they ſhould put
" them all to the ſword.

" THE Mirza and the Emirs obeyed immediately,
" and coming before Smyrna, ſent an embaſſador to
" invite the inhabitants to turn Muſulmen, uſing
" threats as well as promiſes for that purpoſe; but as
" they were predeſtinated to deſtruction, both were
" uſeleſs; and Mahmouy, the governor of the place,
" had ſent to demand ſuccour of all the princes of Eu-
" rope, ſo that he had got together a great number of
" the braveſt chriſtian captains, or rather a company of
" mad devils, who erected magazines there, and ſup-
" plied it with ammunition and proviſions.

" OUR generals gave advice thereof to the court,
" and Timur, upon the news, reſolved to go thither
" in perſon. He left his baggage at the foot of the
" mountain of Tire; and though it was winter and
" the weather exceeding rainy, he would mount
" on horſeback, that the merit of this [illegible]us war
" might be aſcribed to him, and march on [illegible] ſide.
" He arrived there on Saturday the 6th of Jumazytule-
" vel an. 805. at the head of his army, and ſent or-
" ders to the Mirza Mehemet Sultan, who was in win-
" ter quarters at Magniſcab, to advance and poſt him-
" ſelf

" ſelf before Smyrna. The like orders were ſent to " Meraſmiren-Chuh and Bonléen, as alſo to the Emir " Gehan-chah and others. At Timur's arrival before " the place, they beat all their drums and kettle " drums, and the whole army ſet up a great ſhout. " The place was immediately attacked on the land " ſide, and every general carried on the ſap over a- " gainſt his poſt. and prepared engines and battering " rams for the aſſault. They ſhot arrows and threw " pots of wildfire upon the gates of the caſtle; the " Emir Chamelec cauſed likeways great ſcaffolds with " three feet to be erected in the middle of the water " near one another, over which they threw great " planks, and from the two ſides of the caſtle to the " place where the feet of the ſcaffolding touched up- " on the land, they made a plain even way, and ſo " firm, that the ſoldiers might boldly ſtand and walk " on them, without fearing their breaking down, and " fight there as well as if they had been upon land. " This being finiſhed, the Muſulmen took their buck- " lers, and got up on the ſcaffolds, aſſaulting the " caſtle from thence; and the way being thus ſhut " up on the ſide of the ſea, it was impoſſible for any " body whatever to ſuccour the beſieged.

" In the mean time the Mirzas, Mehemmed ſultan, " and Miranchah arrived, having left their baggage " at Magni-ſiah, under the care of the Emir Chamſed- " din-Abbas: this reinforcement was of great ſervice " in forwarding the ſiege, for Timur gave orders for " the general aſſault. The Emir of Loumans and co- " lonels of Hézarés, with their troops advanced to it. " [illegible]ach on the ſide where he was poſted, and the aſ- " [illegible] laſted from morning till evening, and from " th[illegible]ning till morning, the brave men on both " ſide[illegible] forming actions of wonderful vigour. If " the [illegible]ek was obſtinate and reſolute, the defence " was equal to it, and no body had time to reſt a " moment; the engines and battering rams beat down " the walls and towers, and the beſieged ſtill undaunt- " ed, were continually throwing pots of naphta,

" wildfire,

" wildfire, and ſhowers of ſtones and arrows from " engines as well as bows, without the leaſt inter- " miſſion.

" ALL this while the rain was ſo exceſſive, that it " looked as if the univerſe was going to be over- " whelmed with a ſecond deluge; yet notwithſtand- " ing this prodigious ſtorm, the indefatigable Timur " was every moment giving orders to his generals, and " encouraging his ſoldiers in perſon. After the min- " ers had finiſhed their works, and propped up the " baſtions and courtines with ſtones, they filled the " mines with faſcines and faggots dipped in naphta " and ſet fire to them, upon which the walls were " thrown down at once, and ſeveral of the beſieged " fell from the top of them, and were killed. The " Muſulmen forced them ſword in hand to quit the " breaches that they defended, and made their way in- " to Smyrna, crying out victory, and praiſing God, " to whom they offered the heads of all their enemies " by way of thankſgiving for their ſucceſs. Very few " of thoſe eſcaped who had thrown themſelves into " the ſea, and were ſwimming to the ſhips that lay off, " great numbers of them being drowned in the at- " tempt. After they had put the people of Smyrna to " the ſword, they demoliſhed the buildings both of " the town and caſtle, and threw the materials, the " bricks, arms and goods, into the ſea.

" SOME great ſhips called caracas came from cer- " tain parts of Europe; theſe had two maſts at leaſt, " and were well provided with ſoldiers and arms on " board to ſuccour thoſe of Smyrna. When they drew " near the port, and ſaw no marks either of the town " or caſtle, they were ſtartled and ſtopped their courſe. " Timur gave orders to throw the heads of [illegible] of the " Chriſtians on board theſe ſhips, [illegible] towers " of wildfire having executed his orders, [illegible] heads " fell into the very ſhips. The ſeamen knowing " the heads of their comrades, tacked about and re- " turned in a fright, altogether diſappointed of their " expectation."

THIS

THIS is Cherefeddin's relation of what paſſed at the ſiege of Smyrna. 'Tis plain from thence, that what he ſays of the pilgrimages made by the Chriſtians to that city, whither, he ſays, they brought alms, is to be underſtood of Jeruſalem, which name the knights were called by. The ſuccour which thoſe of Smyrna ſent to get in Europe, from whence they received a number of brave captains, or rather a company of mad devils, all this deſcription repreſents the gallant defence made by the knights. The author has not forgot the great carrack of the order, and when he treats the knights as ſea-faring men, it is plain that he means thoſe of Rhodes. Yet after all, they were unable as we have ſeen, to reſiſt the efforts of Tamerlane.

THAT barbarian, as his cuſtom was, ſlaughtered all the inhabitants, and demoliſhed the place. He acted in this cruel manner, purpoſely to intimidate ſuch as ſhould refuſe to open their gates to him. Whenever he laid ſiege to any town, they always planted the firſt day a white ſtandard upon his tent, to ſhew that he was diſpoſed to uſe clemency to thoſe that ſhould ſurrender immediately. The day following, that ſignal was of a red colour, to ſignify that he would have blood, and that the lives of the governor and thoſe principal officers of the garriſon muſt pay for their not ſurrendering on the firſt ſummons. But the third day they planted a black ſtandard, to declare, that whether the place was carried by ſtorm, or made a voluntary ſurrender, every body was put to death, and the town entirely deſtroyed. Notwithſtanding all the precautions that his cruelty made him take, ſeveral knights, and a conſiderable number of the ſoldiers made their eſcapes upon the town's being taken, by throwing themſelves into the ſea, and ſwimming to the ſhips that were come to throw ſuccours into the place.

TAMERLANE whom we may conſider as another Attila, and as a ſcourge of God, after filling Aſia Minor with blood, had a deſign to paſs over into Europe,

rope, and extend his conquests as far as the pillars of Hercules; to cross afterwards the streights of Gibraltar, and after reducing Africa, to return by the way of Egypt into his own dominions. But as he was making preparations proportionable to so vast a project, he received advice that a king of India, whose name historians do not mention, had fallen into Persia, ravaged a great part of the country, and taken Cheri, one of the principal cities of that kingdom, where Tamerlane's treasure was kept, which now became the prey of this other barbarian.

THE proud Tartar, who fancied himself superior to all the monarchs of the world, and perhaps even to fortune, and the condition of human nature itself, fell into a rage at the news. He marched immediately against that prince, resolving to cut him to pieces; but after several engagements and trials of his forces, finding he had to do with a prince as powerful and as great a captain as himself, and feeling himself likewise advanced in years, he thought proper to make peace with his enemy, which he did, and retire into his own territories to Samarchand, where he died a little while after[a], which was occasioned by his having given too great a loose to wine and women. Other historians pretend that he died upon the road to China. His sons divided his empire between them, but soon fell into dissentions, which gave Bajazet's children an opportunity of recovering their father's dominions. These were four in number, viz. Joshua, Musulman or Calapin, Moses and Mahomet. These four princes reigned successively one after another: the three first came to a violent end; Mahomet survived the rest, and several historians of that nation, without taking notice of his brothers, rank him as the immediate successor to Bajazet.

WHILST these civil wars lasted, and those infidel princes disputed the empire in their several turns, the grand master made his advantage of their divisions; and to provide for the better security of the isles belonging

[a] April 1, 1415.

longing to the order, particularly of that of Langos, he formed a project for taking an old caſtle ſituated on the main land twelve miles from that iſland in the gulph of Ceramis, and upon the ruins, as they ſay, of Halicarnaſſus, the capital city of Caria, a town fameous for the magnificent tomb that queen Artemiſia antiently erected for king Mauſolus her husband. This place was not leſs illuſtrious in antiquity for the birth of the Greek hiſtorian Herodotus, and Dionyſius ſirnamed Halicarnaſſæus. The grand maſter went himſelf on board his fleet, coaſted along Caria, landed in the gulph, entered in the port with a ſouth-weſt wind, landed his troops, ſurpriſed and attacked a garriſon of Tartars, which Tamerlane had left in the place, and made himſelf maſter of it; but finding it weak, he reſolved to raiſe another, which he built upon a rock, on the point of a peninſula that jutted out into the ſea: He named it the caſtle of St. Peter, and the Turks called it afterwards Bidrou, ſtrengthening it with all the fortifications that art could invent; the walls were very high, and there were port-holes or openings in them at certain diſtances, ſupplied with cannon, which kept the enemies ſhips at a diſtance. The place was ſtill better fortified on the land ſide, and beſides the height and thickneſs of the walls, the entrance of it was defended by bulwarks and baſtions, and 'tis pretended that ſeven gates muſt be paſſed thro', before there was any getting into the body of the place. There was an inſcription over the laſt of them, in theſe words of the pſalmiſt, "Niſi Dominus ædificaverit civitatem, fruſtra vigilat qui cuſtodit eam," to ſignify, that the ſtrongeſt garriſons cannot preſerve a place which is not built in the name and for the glory of the Lord. When the fortreſs was in a condition of defence, the grand maſter made them hollow and enlarge the ditches about it, ſo as to let the ſea water into them, and he always kept a certain number of brigantines, barks and feluccas, which upon the leaſt ſignal, in concert with the gallies of Lango and Rhodes, blocked up the river of Caria, and hindered the veſſels of the

the Corſairs from entering it; and the caſtle on the land ſide ſerved as a place of refuge to ſuch chriſtian ſlaves of the neighbouring countries as could find means to eſcape out of the priſons and chains of the infidels.

THE grand maſter's care was not confined to the bare preſervation of the iſles of the order; he equally concerned himſelf in the defence of all the chriſtian ſtates in the Eaſt: he was a ſort of general in ordinary to them. The iſle of Cyprus particularly, which is ſituated near Rhodes, owed its preſervation entirely to the fleets and forces of the knights. But if their valour kept the infidels at a diſtance from it, all the prudence and skill of the grand maſter could not guard againſt and prevent the ill effects of the little courage and daſtardly ſpirit of the Cypriots, a nation effeminated by luxury and voluptuouſneſs, which tho' they profeſſed the chriſtian religon, ſtill ſacrificed in reality to the goddeſs of pleaſure, the antient tutelar divinity of the iſland in the times of paganiſm.

PETER of Luſignan was reigning in the iſland at that time. Some important affairs calling him to Italy, he, before his ſetting out, left the government of his kingdom to the count of Rohas or Rohais; ſo they then called the county of Edeſſa, of which however he was only the titular lord, ſince the conqueſt made of it by the infidels. The regent, in the king's abſence, debauched the queen, as they pretend, and in concert with her, took meaſures to deprive him of his crown: 'twas almoſt impoſſible for them to have carried their iniquity higher. The king having advice of their ill deſigns, by an expreſs ſecretly diſpatched to him by a lord whoſe name was Viſconti, returned home immediately, cauſed the traitor to be ſeized, and delivered him into the hands of juſtice to be puniſhed according to the rigour of the law. But as the laws in that effeminate nation had ſcarce any vigour at all, the judges being corrupted by the queen's credit and her adulterer's preſents, pronounced him innocent, and Viſconti was condemned as a ſlanderer to perpetual baniſhment

baniſhment. The king, enraged at a ſentence that diſhonoured him, changed from a wiſe and moderate prince, to be a furious and cruel tyrant; and in order to revenge himſelf, fell upon all his ſubjects without diſtinction. He loaded them with irons, confiſcated their goods, raviſhed the honour of their wives and daughters, and even abandoned them to the miniſters of his tyranny upon the ſlighteſt pretences; and the leaſt ſuſpicion of rebellion was the ſame thing as if the criminal had been found guilty, who was immediately hurried away to puniſhment.

THE common priſons not being ſufficient to hold the great number of unhappy wretches whom he cauſed to be ſeized every day he ordered a new one to be built in the middle of the public ſquare; and from the moſt refined vengeance, forced even perſons of quality of both ſexes to work at it, and aſſiſt the maſons. In this number of perſons born for ſlavery, there happened to be a woman of ſpirit, who tried to engage them to throw off ſo deteſtable a yoke. To gain her point, ſhe, who was a gentlewoman born, and of one of the beſt families in the iſland, under pretence of walking with greater eaſe under the burdens ſhe was forced to carry, tucked up her petticoats and ſhift above her knees, and continued ſo till the king, who came regularly every day to ſee his workmen, appeared with all his court about him: as ſoon as ſhe ſaw him, ſhe let down her petticoats, but when he was gone by, ſhe tucked them up again. Some perſons, ſcandalized at this breach of modeſty, demanding of her why ſhe veiled her nakedneſs before the king only, "Becauſe, ſays ſhe, women are not ſo ſcrupulous be-" fore one another on that head[1]; and as to you there" is not any one among you that ſeems to have any" thing of the man in him but the king." This reproach raiſed a violent indignation in the Cypriots: they were aſhamed of their own weakneſs and cowardice, and fell immediately upon the king and ſlew him.

[1] Hiſt. de l'iſle de Chypre par Ant. Maria Gratiani.

They gave the crown to Petrin or Peter II. his ſon, a young child, who was ſtill under the direction of a governor, and put the regency of the kingdom into the hands of James de Luſignan, a prince of the blood, and the child's uncle.

THIS prince, at his acceſſion to the government of the kingdom, or as others ſay, at the young king's coronation, made a noble feaſt: a great number of Venetian and Genoeſe noblemen were at this royal entertainment. Theſe ſtrangers diſputed for precedence, but by the regent's credit it was decided that day in favour of the Venetians. The Genoeſe, in order to revenge themſelves, reſolved to carry it by force, and agreed together to come the next day to the palace with arms concealed under their cloaks. The regent having notice of their plot, ordered eight noble Genoeſe, who were walking in the hall of the palace, to be thrown out of the windows: and to make the aſe ſtill more odious, they pretend, that theſe noblemen were entirely ignorant of the deſign of their countrymen.

THIS news being carried to Genoa, the ſenate, to revenge the barbarous outrage, ſent a ſtrong fleet to Cyprus, with fourteen thouſand land forces on board, under the command of Peter Fregoſe. The Genoeſe ravaged the iſland, beſieged and took Famaguſta, and ſeized upon the regent, who was carried ignominiouſly with the princeſs his wife to Genoa, and ſhut up in priſon. He continued there till the young king his nephew's death, who leaving no iſſue, he became his heir. The Genoeſe in this juncture ſet him at liberty, but ſold it him very dear; and before they ſuffered him to embark, in order to return to his dominions, they obliged him to make them a ceſſion of the city of Famaguſta, to be enjoyed by them in abſolute ſovereignty, and to ſubmit to pay them an annual tribute of ten thouſand ducats.

JAMES, to gain his liberty and crown, ſigned the treaty, reſolving to give it one day ſuch an explanation as ſhould be ſuitable to his intereſt. The ſituation

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of his affairs did not allow him, during his life, to get rid of this vaſſalage. Janus his ſon, ſo called becauſe he was born at Genoa, being brought up from his cradle in an hereditary hatred againſt the Genoeſe, attempted to ſurpriſe the city of Famaguſta; which occaſioned a war between that prince and the Genoeſe. Thoſe republicans had for a long time been torn to pieces by the terrible diſſenſions that broke out between the body of the nobility and the people, and had a little before given up themſelves to Charles VI. king of France, who had put John le Meingre, called marſhal de Boucicault, to command in Genoa, as governor or viceroy. That lord, to oppoſe the deſigns of the king of Cyprus, ordered a fleet to be fitted out immediately, reſolving to command it in perſon; and till this armament might be in a condition to ſet ſail, he diſpatched away Anthony Grimaldi, knight of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, with three gallies and ſome land forces, which entered the port of Famaguſta, without the leaſt oppoſition.

BOUCICAULT, having equipped ſeven great veſſels and nine gallies, ſet ſail for the Levant; he landed firſt in the iſle of Rhodes, and was received by the grand maſter and the knights with all the honours due to his perſonal merit, and to the dignity of the prince he repreſented. The grand maſter lodged him in his own palace, and entertained him ſeveral times in a caſtle or banqueting-houſe ſeated on a riſing ground near the city. In the diſcourſes that paſſed between theſe two great men in private, the grand maſter repreſented to the marſhal, that whatever pleaſure he had to ſee him in the iſle of Rhodes, he could not help being ſenſibly concerned at the occaſion that brought him thither with an army; that the iſland of Cyprus lying in the neighbourhood of Paleſtine and Egypt, had always hitherto been a convenient place for all the European fleets to put in at; that it was the ſtrongeſt bulwark the Chriſtians had then left in the Eaſt; that he was going with his army to bring upon it all the calamities that are inſeparable from war; that he was

even going to assist the Saracens, and facilitate their conquest of the island; and then conjured him to suffer him to go over into Cyprus, being in hopes that God would bless his voyage and intentions; and he might perhaps be happy enough to restore peace and amity between the two nations.

BOUCICAULT replied, that conquest was not so much his business as the preserving the rights of a republic that had put itself under the protection of the king his master; that the king of Cyprus might have peace if he pleased, and would give over his enterprise on Famagusta, and that as for himself, he had much rather turn his arms against the infidels, than employ them against a christian king, especially against a prince whose illustrious house derived its original from France.

THE grand master having got so favourable an answer, ordered the admiral galley to be fitted out, and taking two others with him for a convoy, set sail for Cyprus. The marshal not caring to remain idle during the grand master's voyage, went on board his fleet, thinking to ravage the country about Alexandretta, a city of Syria then called Lescandelours or Scanderoon, situated twenty five leagues from Aleppo on the gulph of Lajazzo, in the midst of some marshes, and but a little distance from the sea; a Turkish prince was lord of it at that time. Boucicault landed his troops, which consisted of 800 knights and esquires, among which were the banners of the marshal, of the seignior d'Acher, of the seignior of Chateau Morant, of messire William de Naillac, of the same name with the grand master; and those likewise of the seigniors Chateauneuf and Puyos; he had about 2000 men on board that little fleet in all. The lord of the country was then five great days journey from Alexandretta, and was encamped on his frontiers to oppose his brother who disputed the seigniory with him. The marshal taking advantage of his absence, ordered the seignior of Chateau-Morant to attack the lower town, whilst brother Lewis de Culan, who executed the office of camp-mar-

shal

ſhal in this little army, guarded a narrow paſs that hindered any ſuccours from being thrown into the place. The attack and defence were ſmart on both ſides; the Chriſtians were twice repulſed, but returning the third time to the aſſault, carried what was called the lower town that was inhabited chiefly by merchants. Every thing there was plundered, and their rich magazines amply rewarded the valour of the ſoldiers, whilſt at the ſame time the marſhal's fleet made themſelves maſters of the port. The lord of Scanderoon having advice, that whilſt he was defending the entry of his country againſt his brother, the Chriſtians were on the point of taking his capital, haſtened to the ſuccour of the place, which was much ſtraitned. He made ſeveral attempts to throw in ſuccour, but finding all the paſſes ſecured by the marſhal's troops, he had recourſe to treaty, a method always moſt ſuitable to the weaker ſide, and ſent embaſſadors to the marſhal to complain, that without having ever had any diſpute with the Genoeſe, and without any previous declaration of war, he had fallen upon his dominions, and there committed acts of hoſtility, which are never practiſed but between open and declared enemies.

HIS ambaſſadors added, that how juſt ſoever the complaints of their maſter were, yet if the marſhal would withdraw his troops out of his territories, he was ready to enter into a ſtrict confederacy with him; and in caſe he came to a rupture with the king of Cyprus, he would oblige himſelf to furniſh him all the neceſſary ſupplies for ſuſtaining that war in an iſland ſo remote from Genoa.

THE marſhal liſtened to theſe propoſals the more willingly, in that if he was obliged to make war in Cyprus, he might draw proviſions and other ſuccours from that country which lay near the iſland; and beſides he was afraid of making any ſtay on that coaſt, in a ſeaſon when the air of Alexandretta was ſo very unwholſom and dangerous, by reaſon of the exhalations ariſing from the marſhes, when thoſe who did not die outright, would be ſure not to come off without a

grievous fit of ſickneſs. Having therefore made his treaty with the lord of the country, and ſpent only 14 days in the expedition, he re-embarked his troops, and ſtood off for the coaſt of the iſle of Cyprus, to haſten the grand maſter's negotiation, but he found the affair very much forwarded.

THAT prince having a conference with the king, made him ſenſible of the power of the Genoeſe, and repreſented to him that he was not in a condition to make head againſt the forces of that republic; eſpecially when commanded by a general of the marſhal's experience; that if he ſhould call the Venetians to his ſuccour, he would make his country the theatre of a bloody war; that he himſelf would be the victim of it; and that whoever would be victorious in war, he would have nothing left him but the choice of his tyrants; that he therefore adviſed him to adhere religiouſly to the treaty which the Genoeſe had made with the king his father, and not to trouble them in the poſſeſſion of Famaguſta, by which means he would intereſt them in the defence of the whole iſland, againſt the enterpriſes of the ſultans of Egypt, who had ſeveral times attempted already to make themſelves maſters of it.

THIS repreſentation was not only founded upon good ſenſe and the wiſeſt politics, but being given from the grand maſter, was ſomething more than bare advice. The kings of Cyprus had for many years been ſupported meerly by the protection and ſuccours which they drew from Rhodes; and the prince then reigning could not reject the grand maſter's good offices and mediation, without incurring the indignation of the whole order. The grand maſter indeed was at that time conſidered as the moſt powerful chriſtian prince in all the eaſt; and the order never had braver officers, nor a greater number of them. The convent was generally peopled with a thouſand knights; moſt of the iſles called Sporades depended on it, and the ſea was covered with their fleets. The Rhodian merchants under the protection and convoy of the veſſels of the

order,

order, grew rich at the ſame time by their commerce: there was not a corſair that durſt venture near the ſeas of Lycia, and we may affirm, that the arms of the order was as terrible to the infidels, as its valour was generally eſteemed by the princes of Chriſtendom; ſo that it is leſs ſurprizing the king of Cyprus ſhould pay ſo ſubmiſſive a deference to the grand maſter's ſentiments. It was agreed between them, that the ſiege of Famaguſta ſhould be raiſed, and the king, by the grand maſter's mediation, had a conference with the marſhal: but a difficulty ſtarted up, which had like to have ruined the negotiation before the treaty was ſigned.

The Genoeſe engaged Boucicault to inſiſt that the king of Cyprus ſhould re-imburſe them the expence of the war, which they made amount to very conſiderable ſums. The king pretended on the contrary, that they ought to be ſatisfied that he had, out of regard to the grand maſter, been pleaſed to be content to raiſe the ſiege of a place which had belonged to his anceſtors for ſo many ages, and which he was on the point of reducing. Both ſides maintained their pretenſions with equal ardour, and there was reaſon to apprehend that this article might break off the whole treaty; but the grand maſter, who knew the importance and neceſſity of a peace, prevailed with the king of Cyprus to pay the Genoeſe 70,000 ducats; and as the young prince was not maſter of ſuch a ſum, he got it lent him out of the treaſury of the order, which for ſecurity had the regal crown, with veſſels of gold and ſilver, and precious ſtones, as a pawn, till the money advanced ſhould be all paid. After the concluſion of this treaty, the grand maſter and the marſhal re-imbarked, but before they returned to Rhodes, they reſolved to ravage the coaſts of Syria and Paleſtine, which were then in the poſſeſſion both of the Saracens, and the troops of Tamerlane. They landed on the coaſt of Tripoli, thinking to ſurpriſe the garriſon and inhabitants of the place; but they found the ſhore defended by above 15000 men, in which number were 600 cavalry, part of Tamerlane's troops,

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all dreſſed, ſays the hiſtorian of Boucicault, in fine velvet and cloth of gold.

THOUGH the Chriſtians ſaw plainly that the infidels had notice of their deſign, and were prepared to receive them, yet they reſolved to make a deſcent upon the coaſts of the Saracens. The marſhal put himſelf at their head with the grand maſter, who was attended by brother Raimond de Leſture, grand prior of Toulouſe, brother Peter de Beaufremont, hoſpitaller, and a great number of other knights of the order. Theſe knights, hurried on by their courage, and without waiting till the boats could put them on ſhore, threw themſelves up to the neck in the ſea, and advanced boldly ſword in hand againſt the infidels; and though the chriſtian troops made at moſt but 3000 men and the Saracens army was computed at 15,000, our knights, ſuſtained by the troops of Genoa, charged them ſo furiouſly, that the barbarians, not able to ſtand the attack, gave ground and fled, but rallied afterwards at ſome diſtance from the ſhore, when their commanders drew them up in order of battle. There was no great likelihood that the Chriſtians ſhould with ſo ſmall force advance, and attack that great body of Saracens, which was likewiſe covered with hedges and deſſies, and had the ſtrong city of Tripoli behind them. But the grand maſter and the marſhal could not bring themſelves, notwithſtanding the inequality of number, to re-embark without advancing nearer them; ſo that letting their ſoldiers take breath a while, they divided their little army into three bodies; and taking care not to get at too great a diſtance from the ſhore, for fear of being intercepted by the Saracens, they march towards them, and attack them ſword in hand. They charge on both ſides, and cloſe together in a moment; the combat grows bloody, and laſts for ſome time with fury; but the greateſt loſs falling upon the infidels, they can no longer bear up againſt the efforts of the Chriſtians; they retire into gardens planted with fruit-trees, and fenced about with thick hedges, but not thinking themſelves ſafe enough there, moſt of them

them run to the very city for refuge; in a word, the whole body is broke, and the chriſtian generals meet with no enemy to reſiſt them However, not having a ſufficient body of troops to form the ſiege of Tripoli, a place of great ſtrength, and defended by a garriſon numerous enough to take the field, the Chriſtians re-embarked; but before they returned, the grand maſter and the marſhal, reſolved to make an attempt on Baruth, and try if they ſhould find the enemy on their guard, and prepared to receive them.

BARUTH, or Berytus, a town of Phœnicia, was at that time conſiderable on account of its commerce. Its harbour ſerved for a ſort of ſtaple to all the merchandize carried from Egypt into Europe; and moſt of the Chriſtian merchants, and particularly the Venetians, had their counting-houſes and conſiderable magazines there. The Chriſtian fleet ſailing on in its courſe ſaw a light bark, called at that time Gripperio, coming out of the port of Baruth, and making all the ſail it could to get out to ſea, and eſcape from the Chriſtians; but a galley being ordered to purſue it, ſoon came up with it, and brought it back to the generals. The captain of this little veſſel being examined according to the laws of war, about his condition and circumſtances, and the reaſons of his eagerneſs to avoid the Chriſtian fleet, he owned himſelf a Chriſtian and a Venetian, but did not care to ſay more. However, being threatned to be put to the rack, the fear of torture made him confeſs, that he had been diſpatched by the Venetian general to all the ſea-ports of Phœnicia, Paleſtine and Egypt, to give the ſubjects of the ſultan of Egypt advice of the Chriſtians being at ſea, under the command of the grand maſter of Rhodes and the governor of Genoa, in order that they might take the neceſſary precautions againſt the enterpriſes of their enemies. Moſt of the ſoldiers and officers of the fleet, enraged at the intelligence given them by this Venetian, were for throwing him into the ſea, but were hindered by their generals, who continued firm in their reſolution

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of keeping on their course and making a descent near Baruth.

As the town was but poorly fortified, the inhabitants, upon the advice brought them by the Venetian, had carried off the best of their effects to the woods and mountains. This did not prevent the Christians from landing; and after plundering the town, they set it on fire, re-imbarked and sailed towards Sayda, anciently called Sidon, another town of Phœnicia, 35 miles from Baruth. They found the same precautions there, viz. the port and shore lined with inhabitants all in arms, to the number of 10,000 men. The grand master and the marshal, however, by help of the engines which they had on board, made their descent at the head of 200 men of arms and as many cross-bow men, and were going to land the rest of the troops, when they were surprised by so violent stormy weather, and a contrary wind, that they could not continue their landing. The grand master and marshal saw themselves by this means left with only 5 or 600 men about them, destitute of succours, and exposed to enemies vastly superior in strength, who might have cut them in pieces if they had known how to make their advantage of so favourable an opportunity.

THE barbarians indeed advanced to charge them, but the Christians closing and keeping their ranks, made head against them on all sides with so resolute a countenance, that they thought fit only to fight at a distance and incommode them with their arrows. The Christians did the same, and the sea, after a storm of five hours, growing calm, they re-imbarked in sight of the infidels, who never durst advance nearer than within bow shot of them.

THE fleet landed afterwards on the coast of Lidda, another town of Palestine, which the Greeks called anciently Diospolis, i. e. the city of Jupiter. This place was situated in a plain, about a league north of Ramatha; it was covered on one side by a mountain, and on the other by a wood. They landed there, not

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on the ſide of the main ſea, but in a little creek or bay, which was defended by two towers. They diſcovered only 3000 men, or thereabouts, who appeared and kept themſelves at a diſtance from the ſea, ſeeming to be afraid of them. The generals, in order to reconnoitre them, put ſome troops on ſhore, without any oppoſition being made to their landing, and upon the report of the principal officers, reſolved to attack the enemy next day. But for fear leſt the barbarians aſſiſted by the night, ſhould ſurpriſe the troops that were landed, they made them retire on board the fleet in the evening. The infidels ſeeing the Chriſtians re-imbarking, and believing that their ſcouts had diſcovered the ambuſcade, which they had laid between the town and the ſea, ſallied out from behind the mountain and the wood, to the number of above 30,000 men, all of them ſword in hand, and ſetting up a great ſhout, advanced boldly to the foot of the towers, and very brink of the ſea. 'Twas this precipitate eagerneſs of theirs to ſhew themſelves, which ſaved the Chriſtians, who would elſe have been all cut off the next day, if they had, purſuant to their generals deſign, marched to Lidda, and advanced into the plain, where they muſt have been intercepted and ſurrounded by an army that was ſo very numerous, and ſo vaſtly ſuperior to their own.

THE grand maſter and the marſhal ſeeing the ſeaſon advanced, and that there was nothing to be done along the coaſt, took leave of one another, the grand maſter returning to Rhodes, and the marſhal ſailing for Famaguſta, where, upon his arrival, he gave the neceſſary orders for the ſecurity of the place. He ſtayed but a few days there, and then ſet out on his return for Italy; but before he made for Genoa, he touched at the iſle of Rhodes, to thank the grand maſter and the order, for their good offices towards him in the late treaty concluded with the king of Cyprus. The grand maſter treated him nobly, ſtored his fleet with proviſions and refreſhments, and ſhewed him, before he embarked, the principal fortreſſes of the iſland,

island, their garrisons, arms, and the magazines in each of them. The marshal admired particularly the port of Rhodes which was fortified with two castles, well provided with warlike engines that commanded the mouth of it, and filled with an infinite number of ships of war, merchant vessels, gallies and galliots, saicks and felucca's, most of them equipped for war, and making frequent returns with various prizes that they were continually taking from the infidels, and chiefly from the subjects of the sultans of Egypt. Those barbarians could scarce venture any more out of the port of Alexandria, or sail in the seas of Cyprus and Lycia, without being snapped up by the knights of Rhodes.

THE sultan, though full of resentment at these captures, and the several descents which the grand master had just made upon his coasts, thought it yet more proper to make peace with the order, than to continue a war so prejudicial to his subjects: with this view he sent an embassador to Rhodes. As the knights were on the point of entering into a league of Christian princes against the Turk, and it was not proper to have two such mighty enemies to oppose at once, they resolved to hear the sultan's minister. Commissioners were named to enter upon a negotiation, and peace was soon enough agreed upon, by reason of the disposition there was in both parties to conclude it; but it was easy enough to see that the grand master prescribed the terms of the treaty.

NAILLAC, who had always in view the spirit and main design for which his order was instituted, took care to have it stipulated, that in order to prevent the profanations of infidels, he should have leave to wall in the holy sepulchre; that he might always keep six knights in Jerusalem who should be exempted from all Carache, i. e. from all tribute; who might entertain other knights in their house, and such pilgrims as should come out of devotion to the holy city; that the order might ransom Christian slaves either by paying the same money that they cost their masters, or by giving

giving a Saracen in exchange for a Chriſtian; that there ſhould be a free commerce between the ſubjects of the order and thoſe of the ſultan, and that the grand maſter might keep conſuls at Jeruſalem, Rama and Alexandria, to ſecure the Chriſtians from the exactions they were expoſed to in the territories of the infidels: and in fine, that the ſhips of the order might export corn out of the ſultan's dominions. It was agreed likewiſe, that in caſe either party was for breaking the treaty, and beginning the war a-freſh, he ſhould be obliged to make a publick denunciation of it three months before, that both ſides might ſecure their effects before acts of hoſtility were begun: all which conditions are a demonſtration of the ſultan's eagerneſs to make peace, and his fear of the power and forces of the knights.

BUT how numerous would the forces of this formidable body have been, had they not been divided by the unhappy ſchiſm which then infeſted the order as well as the univerſal church? We have already obſerved, that there were two popes at the ſame time in the church, each of them having different nations under their authority, and two ſuperiors in the order independent on each other. The convent of Rhodes, the knights in the eaſt, with thoſe of France, Caſtile, Scotland, and part of Germany, acknowledged the authority of the grand maſter, who adhered to Benedict XIII. ſucceſſor to Clement VII. whilſt the popes that ſucceeded Urban VI. had, in order to retain the Arragonian, Italian, and Engliſh knights, as well as thoſe of the kingdoms of the north, Bohemia and Hungary, in their obedience, appointed Italian commanders to be their ſuperiors, under the title of lieutenants of the grand maſterſhip; and who, as if that great dignity was not already filled up, governed this part of the order without having the leaſt intercourſe with the grand maſter of Rhodes. 'Tis eaſy to gueſs what prejudice ſuch a fatal diviſion muſt cauſe in that iſland, which ſaw its forces divided, and that for a long time received no contribution from the priories and com-

manderies that had ſeparated themſelves from the body of the order.

HAPPILY at this juncture the cardinals who adhered to both the popes, excited by the zeal of moſt of the princes of Chriſtendom, agreed together to join their endeavours to aſſemble a general council; and it being then uncertain which of the two rivals was the true pope, whether Peter de Luna, ſtil'd Benedict XIII. or Angelo Corrario, who had taken the name of Gregory XII. theſe cardinals reſolved to put a perſon into the chair of St. Peter, whoſe election ſhould be ſo indiſputable, that no Chriſtian could help acknowledging him for ſole and lawful head of the univerſal church.

'TWAS with this view that theſe cardinals had in all the conclaves held from the time of the death of Urban VI. and Clement VII. ſubſcribed to a formal inſtrument, whereby the perſon who ſhould be elected out of their body, engaged himſelf for the ſake of peace to renounce the popedom, which they called accepting of the vote of ceſſion. But experience demonſtrated afterwards, that all thoſe whom they raiſed to that ſupreme dignity, thought themſelves, the moment they received the papal crown, diſpenſed from the promiſes they had made in order to attain it: and the competitors, by a tacit colluſion, agreed in nothing but in one point, which was never to agree upon any of the ſeveral expedients propoſed in order to bring about a reciprocal ceſſion.

THE fear of ſeeing this ſchiſm perpetuated in the church, determined the cardinals to call a general council in the city of Piſa in Italy. Scarce had a more illuſtrious, and withal a more numerous aſſembly been ſeen in any part of the Chriſtian world. There were preſent at it 22 cardinals, 4 patriarchs, 12 archbiſhops in perſon, and 14 by their proxies, 80 biſhops, and the proxies of above 100; the grand maſter of Rhodes, accompanied with 16 commanders, the prior of the knights of the holy ſepulchre, and procurator of the Teutonic order; 87 abbots, in which number

were

were the abbots, ſuperiors of the order of the Ciſtertians, of Grammont, of Camaldoli and Vallombroſa, with the proxies of the abbots general of the order of the Premonſtrants, and of St. Anthony of Vienna; the proxies of 200 other abbots; an infinite number of priors and eccleſiaſtics; the deputies of the univerſities of Paris, Thouloufe, Orleans, Angers, Montpelier, Bologna, Florence, Cracow, Vienna, Prague, Cologne, Oxford and Cambridge; above 300 doctors in divinity and canon law; and the embaſſadors of the kings of France, England, Portugal, Bohemia, Sicily, Poland and Cyprus, of the dukes of Burgundy, Brabant, Lorrain, Bavaria and Pomerania, of the marquis of Brandenburg, the landgrave of Thuringia, and of almoſt all the princes of Germany.

THIS famous council was opened on Lady-day; they ſat ſeveral times, and after ſeveral citations had been made in vain to the two pretenders, who would never anſwer them, and all other formalities requiſite to be obſerved in cauſa majori, and in an affair of ſuch importance, the holy council proceeded at laſt to a definitive ſentence, declaring Peter de Luna and Angelo Corrario ſchiſmatics, and guilty of perjury and artifice, in order to impoſe on the faithful, and keep up the ſchiſm which had diſtracted the church for ſo many years together, depriving them of the popedom, and allowing the cardinals to proceed to the election of a ſovereign pontiff: during which, the guard of the conclave was committed to the grand maſter and his knights. 1409. March 25.

ALL the cardinals preſent in the council gave their votes unanimouſly for the cardinal of Milan, who at his inauguration, and at the ceremony of his coronation, took the name of Alexander V. a perſon illuſtrious for his eminent piety and profound knowledge; qualities equally to be wiſhed in all thoſe perſons who fill that auguſt dignity. This pope was a Greek by birth, and of the iſle of Candia, but born of parents ſo miſerably poor, that he was abandoned by them in his

infancy, insomuch that he never knew of any he had: this made him say, after his advancement to the pontifical chair, that the church would, during his pontificate, be secure from nepotism. This holy pope indeed made a more worthy use of his riches, employing them equally in relieving the poor, and in rewarding men of virtue and merit. Whatever joy the church in general expressed at the election of so pious a pope, and in expectation of its putting a final end to the schism, no body could be more affected with it than the grand master, who considered it as a means to reunite all Christian princes, and engage them in a league against the Turks. With this view, and to carry on this important negotiation, he made choice of brother Walter de Grassy, prior of the church of Rhodes, and brother Lucius de Valines, grand marshal, and sent them as his embassadors, to most of the sovereigns of Christendom, to notify to them the pope's election. Their orders were to represent in his name the favourableness of the present juncture for making war upon the Turks; that the throne of Bajazet had received a terrible shock by the fall of that prince, and by the victories of Tamerlane, and that they might make their advantage of the civil wars risen up between the sons of the turkish prince, who disputed his succession, and the weak remains of his empire.

THE grand master having acquainted the pope with the design of this embassy, received the praises due to his zeal on that account. The holy pontiff told him, that if they could carry their point in that affair, he would declare himself head of the league, and be at the chief expence of the expedition. At the same time he sent a nuncio to Rhodes, to notify his election to brother Dominic of Germany, the grand master's lieutenant, and the council and convent of Rhodes. The pope, though the grand master was near his person, took this step from a particular regard for the whole body of the order, which was always supposed to reside in the isle of Rhodes.

THE

THE pope, to put a final end to the particular ſchiſm which had ſo long infeſted the order, iſſued out a bull which he ordered his nuncio to publiſh over all Chriſtendom, wherein he declared that brother Philebert de Naillac was the only lawful grand maſter of all the knights of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, enjoining, by virtue of the obedience they owed him, and under pain of excommunication, all the religious of the order, whether knights, chaplains, or ſerving brothers, in what part of the world ſoever they might reſide, to acknowledge him for their head and only ſuperior.

IN conſequence of this bull, the grand maſter ſummoned a general chapter at Nice, which was afterwards tranſlated to Aix in Provence; and in his ſummons, after repreſenting at large and in a moving manner, the evils which the ſchiſm had cauſed to the whole church in general, and to the order in particular, he orders all priors, and the four oldeſt commanders of each priory, to appear at at the chapter by the firſt of April, to take meaſures by concert for the reſtoring of diſcipline and the reformation of the order, in the head as well as in the members of it.

THE grand maſter was preparing to ſet out for this aſſembly, where his preſence was highly neceſſary, in order to extinguiſh the remains of the ſchiſm, and reſtore a perfect union and harmony between all the knights: when the pope, who knew his merit, and the peculiar talent he had for negotiations, obliged him to undertake an embaſſy from him to the kings of France and England, who were then at war, to mediate a good peace, or at leaſt a long truce between them. The grand maſter accepted this commiſſion the more willingly, becauſe he conſidered the peace he was going to treat of as a means to engage thoſe two powerful monarchs to join their forces againſt the infidels. But not to deprive the order by his abſence of the advantages that might be expected from the chapter, he allowed that auguſt aſſembly to chuſe three perſons to preſide there in his ſtead; and the choice of

the members fell upon the brothers James Tivelly prior of Auvergne, Raimond de Leſture prior of Thouloufe, and Philip de Langueglia prior of Lombardy. In this chapter ſeveral regulations were made, of very great conſequences relating as well to the reſponſions, which were payable out of the commandries into the common treaſury, as to the ill uſe which certain priors made of their authority. The treaſury had during the ſchiſm been deprived of all its dues and contributions ariſing from the commandries ſituated in England, Scotland, Arragon, and part of Germany; in the kingdoms of the North, Bohemia, Hungary, and over all Italy.; it was therefore ordered that viſitors ſhould be ſent into all theſe countries, to re-eſtabliſh the right of the order there: and the priors were expreſsly prohibited from ſeizing for the future, as ſome had done, in the commandries within their priories, upon the foreſts, rights of fiſhery, thoſe of mort-main and for-marriage, and in a word, upon all the ſeignioral rights which they had aſſumed to themſelves to the prejudice of the commanders; and a ſtatute was made, that for the future, every commander, in order to enable him to pay his reſponſions the more eaſily, ſhould enjoy all the rights and profits of his commandry, without the prior's appropriating the leaſt part thereof to himſelf under any pretence whatever. They choſe likewiſe in this chapter an adminiſtrator of the treaſury, naming for that poſt brother Raimond de Leſture prior of Thouloufe, and grand commander of Cyprus, a knight very zealous for the intereſt of his order, and well verſed in the direction and ordering of the public revenues. The order made choice of him, in hopes that he would find out an expedient to oblige the commanders of Italy and other countries, who had divided from the body of the order during the ſchiſm, to pay the arrears of their reſponſions, and continue them for the future, with the exactneſs which their profeſſion required them to obſerve, with reſpect to their ſtatutes and the orders of their ſuperiors.

BUT,

BUT unhappily the ſchiſm was not yet extinguiſhed. The council of Piſa, far from terminating that great affair, had only perplexed it the more. Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. were indeed depoſed there, and they had choſen Alexander V. for their ſucceſſor; but the two firſt refuſed to acknowledge the authority of the council, and each of them maintained his own election with more obſtinacy than ever; ſo that inſtead of two popes as they had before, they had now three. Theſe troubles which infeſted the church, ſerved as a skreen to moſt of the commanders, who under a pretence of adhering to thoſe two antipopes, refuſed obeying the grand maſter, and neglected to pay their reſponſions.

POPE Alexander V. dying in the beginning of May at Bologna, they were ſtrangely ſurpriſed and ſcandaliſed to ſee his place filled by cardinal Baltazar Coſſa, legate or rather tyrant of Bologna. * He had been a pirate in his youth, and afterwards turned eccleſiaſtic, as thinking it the beſt profeſſion for him to make his fortune. This change he made without deviating in the leaſt from his firſt way of life, and one would rather have taken him for a ſoldier than a man devoted to the ſervice of the altar. His relations procured him afterwards an archdeaconry in the church of Bologna; but finding that poſt too narrow for his ambition, he reſolved to go to Rome; and 'tis ſaid, that when he ſet out on his journey to that capital of the Chriſtian world, his friends asking him whither he was going, "I am "going, ſays he, to the popedom." Boniface XI. ſucceſſor to Urban, and one of the popes who kept up the ſchiſm, made him his chamberlain; a dignity in which he had amaſs'd immenſe wealth, by employing all the tricks and artifices of ſimony. But he did not labour for himſelf only, for he was obliged to account with Boniface, who was as greedy as himſelf in ſcraping

* In cujus electione multi ſcandaliſati ſunt, quia ut tyrannus rexiſſe Bononiam, & vitæ mundanæ deditus dicebatur. Gobillin. in Coſmod. ætatis 6. cap. 30.

ing up riches, and who connived at his pilferings to ſhare the profits with him. Coſſa procured the legate-ſhip of Bologna from him, and a publican or farmer of the revenue made the moſt of it. They ſay that it was partly by his credit and intrigues, that after the death of Boniface IX. and Innocent VII. his ſucceſſor, he got Benedict XIII and Gregory XII. depoſed in the council of Piſa, and Alexander V. elected, whoſe great age made him flatter himſelf with the hopes of ſucceeding him in a little time. But death moving with a ſlower pace than his ambition, he was ſuſpected of having got him poiſoned in a doſe of phyſic. Theodoric of Niem, who was his ſecretary, in his hiſtory of the ſchiſm, repreſents him as a man polluted with avarice, cruelty, and the moſt abominable incontinency. However, as he was elected canonically, he was enthroned and adored by the name of John XXIII.

THIS change of dignity did not make him alter his conduct; he was ſtill as looſe as ever in his morals, always graſping at other people's wealth, and carrying on a ſordid traffic with the moſt holy things. Sigiſmond the emperor, or only king of the Romans, whom we have had occaſion to mention before in quality of king of Hungary, in a conference which he had with this pope at Lodi, opened himſelf very freely in relation to his irregularities and preſſed him to put an end to the ſcandal he gave to the whole church by his ſimony. That prince had deſired this interview in order to engage the pope to call a general council. Beſides the benefit that might accrue from thence to the whole church, Sigiſmond who had always his own intereſt in view, and was as great a politician as he was an ill captain, not finding himſelf in a condition ſingly to ſupport the war, which the Turks were making upon him in his kingdom of Hungary, flattered himſelf with the hopes, that if he could but carry his point in extinguiſhing the ſchiſm, he might find a way to unite all the chriſtian princes in a league againſt the infidels. With this view he careſſed John XXIII. perſuading

him

him that he would get him acknowledged in a general council (by the condemnation of Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII.) for the ſole pope and paſtor of the univerſal church. But his real deſign, which indeed he kept to himſelf, and which was at laſt diſcovered by time only, always was to have all the three popes depoſed, and a fourth elected, by the concurrence and votes of the cardinals of the three parties. Pope John who did not ſee thro' this fine political turn, and who ſtood in fear of the emperor, in order to keep meaſures with him, called the council at Conſtance. Beſides the rooting out of the ſchiſm, which was the chief thing propoſed to be done in that auguſt aſſembly, they were likewiſe to ſet about reforming the church in its head and members, and to examine at the ſame time the doctrine of John Hus and Jerome of Prague, who had revived Wickliff's heretical opinions in Bohemia.

'TWAS expected that the emperor's remonſtrances, and eſpecially the calling of a general council, would keep the pope or the officers of the apoſtolical chamber in ſome awe; but it made no alteration in their conduct. The order of St. John ſuffered in a particular manner upon that account: the pope, or ſuch as made uſe of his authority, in conſideration of a large ſum of money, iſſued out a bull, by which licence was given to a certain knight commander, who had made his vows, to renounce them, and to quit the habit of the order, and marry. The ſovereign pontiff at the ſame time cauſed the commandry, which that religious enjoyed, to be reſigned to him; and they ſay, he ſold it afterwards to a boy not fourteen years old, whom he diſpenſed with from taking the habit and making his vows. He carried theſe ſorts of diſpenſations ſtill farther, in favour of another child but five years old, named Aloyſe or Alexis, natural ſon to the king of Cyprus, whom he ſuffered, in conſideration of a rich commandry, which he ſold to the king his father, to make the vows of the order at that age.

FROM

FROM the ſame principle of avarice, and without any regard to the important ſervices done by the order to all Chriſtendom, he ſeized on all the priories and commandries that he heard were fallen vacant, and ſold them afterwards to ſuch as offered moſt money, ſo that the convent of Rhodes, or rather the whole order, was in danger of being utterly ruined by his avarice.

THIS was the occaſion of a letter which the council wrote to him in the ſtrongeſt as well as moſt moving terms. In this letter they repreſented to him with a generous liberty, that the knights, who reſided at Rhodes, and in the neighbouring iſles, were to ſignalize their zeal againſt the enemies of the faith, ſhedding their blood daily in the defence of the Chriſtians that went to viſit the holy places; that themſelves, as well as their predeceſſors, had, at entering into the order, founded ſeveral commandries out of their own patrimony. That moſt of the Chriſtian princes, edified with their zeal, had followed their example in making thoſe pious foundations; that his holineſs, by ſeizing on thoſe eſtates, or beſtowing them on his creatures, was going to deprive Rhodes of its gallant defenders, and the convent of the neceſſary ſupplies for its ſubſiſtence; that the oldeſt knights had always looked upon thoſe commandries as the juſt recompence of their ſervices, and the only means of relief in their old age; and that if he went on to deprive them thereof, they would ſoon ſee the iſle of Rhodes abandoned as a prey to the infidels, and every knight unable to ſubſiſt there any longer, ſeeking at laſt a refuge among his relations; which could not fail of redounding to the great ſcandal of Chriſtendom, and the diſhonour of the holy ſee.

FOND as the pope was of his ſovereign power over all eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions, the juſt complaints of the order, and his fear of the knights laying them before the council, ſerved to counter-balance his avarice. He revoked the grant that he had made of the commandry of Cyprus in favour of the baſtard abovementioned; but

but as he never did any favour or act of juſtice gratis, he could not bring himſelf to pay the king of Cyprus back the money that he had received in hand; the order was forced to re-imburſe it out of their own treaſury; and after the council, in order to get rid of this oppreſſion, had ſubmitted to ſuch hard conditions, he exacted ſix thouſand florins more from them in ready money, before he would iſſue out the brief of revocation.

WE paſs over in ſilence other exceſſes of his, ſtill more ſhocking, which are mentioned by hiſtorians, and the very acts of the council, though it were indeed to be wiſhed they had drawn a veil over them. We ſhall only ſay, that though the pontiff, out of regard to the emperor, had appointed the council to be held at Conſtance, an imperial city, ſituated between Suabia and Switzerland, he yet came thither with great reluctance, as if he had foreboding apprehenſions of the fate that awaited him in that place.

'TIS ſaid, that when he was arrived near the city, viewing it with ſome concern from the top of a neighbouring mountain, he could not help ſaying, with an heavy ſmile, "There is the hole where they catch "foxes." But as he had gone too far to return back, he entered the place, attended by the cardinals and his whole court: he opened the council on the firſt day of November, and appointed the firſt ſeſſion to be held on the ſixteenth of the ſame month. There paſſed in this council things that will be ever memorable; the proſecution and depoſing of two popes; the voluntary or forced abdication of a third; the canonical and lawful election of a fourth; the re-union of all the churches of the weſt under his obedience; the execution of John Hus, and Jerome of Prague; the civil war that broke out on that occaſion in Bohemia; the various ſprings made uſe of to bring about ſuch great events; all this has been treated of by ſuch learned pens, that we ſhall only ſay, with regard to the particular deſign of our work, that after the depoſing of

John

John XXII. the ceſſion of Gregory XII. and the condemnation of Benedict XIII. when they were to fill the chair of St. Peter, the holy council, in order to avoid the cabals ſo uſual in the conclaves of the cardinals, and provide a worthy head for the univerſal church, ordered, in the fortieth ſeſſion, that for this once, and by conſent of the cardinals, ſix eccleſiaſtical deputies, out of each of the five nations which compoſed that auguſt aſſembly, ſhould be joined with them to make this important election.

IN fine, upon Thurſday the eleventh of November, fifty-eight electors gave their votes for Otho Colonna, cardinal deacon of the title of St. George, a velo aureo, who in memory of St. Martin of Tours, whoſe feaſt was kept that day, would be called Martin, and was the fifth of the name. This pope was deſcended from one of the moſt noble houſes, not only of Italy but of all Chriſtendom, which has in various ages produced great men and heroes of all characters. Such as have ſince deſcended from this noble race, have, by their great actions, reflected back as much luſtre as ever they derived from their anceſters.

THE pope, after the forty-fifth ſeſſion, diſmiſſed the fathers of the council on April 25th, with
1418. the uſual ceremonies; and thoſe prelates who had ſo long been kept at a diſtance from their reſpective dioceſes, ſet out on their journey back with pleaſure. The grand maſter would have been glad to have returned at the ſame time to Rhodes; the neceſſities of the order called him back, and he was invited thither by the ardent wiſhes of all his knights, who had made ſeveral proceſſions and public prayers for his preſervation and return. But his zeal for the whole body of the order did not allow him to quit Europe ſo ſoon: all he could do was to ſend eighteen thouſand crowns out of his own purſe to Rhodes, in order to relieve the wants of the convent there, which, by the unhappy conſequences of the ſchiſm, was reduced to an extreme indigence.

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WE have ſeen a little before, in the courſe of this hiſtory, that the fatal ſchiſm, which had infeſted the church for above forty years, had occaſioned a like diviſion in the order of St. John, and that moſt of the European knights adhered to ſuch of the popes as their ſovereigns followed. The unanimous election of Martin V. having put an end to theſe different parties among chriſtian princes, the next buſineſs was to root them out likeways in the order, and re-unite to the body of it all the various members that had ſeparated themſelves from it, and particularly the Italian knights, who, notwithſtanding the decrees and particular ordinance of pope Alexander V. had, under pretence that Gregory XII. would not own the authority of the council of Piſa, perſevered in the obedience of that antipope, under the authority of the pretended lieutenants of the maſterſhip. The grand maſter, after the voluntary ceſſion of Gregory XII. and the unanimous election of Martin V. conſidered that the moſt important affair of his order would be to efface the leaſt footſteps of this unhappy ſchiſm.

But as he could not undertake any thing without the conſent and concurrence of the principal perſons of the order, he called an aſſembly of the priors, receivers, and oldeſt commanders of France, Spain and Savoy, at Avignon. The grand maſter acquainted them with the reaſons of that particular convocation, and after various opinions had been propoſed and debated, they agreed in one that ſuited the republican government of the order, which was, to call a general chapter at Rhodes, and ſummon the greateſt number of priors and old commanders that could poſſibly be got together to it; and withal to ſend a particular deputation to the priors of Lombardy, Venice, Rome and [illegible], who had been till then averſe to own the grand maſter's authority, in order that their re-union to the entire body of the order might be authoriſed by the decrees of a general chapter; or elſe that that auguſt aſſembly, in which the ſovereignty of the order was

veſted, might decree ſuch penalties as they ſhould think proper, againſt the diſobedient and refractory.

WITH this view they commiſſioned brother John de Patru, the conventual treaſurer, to go into Italy; and to authoriſe him with proper power, the grand maſter gave him the title of viſitor and corrector in the four priories above-mentioned: and his orders were to demand of them the re-eſtabliſhment of their reſpondents, which had not been paid ever ſince the beginning of the ſchiſm. A propoſal of this nature, though undoubtedly juſt, was not without great difficulties. The buſineſs in queſtion was to levy a ſort of tribute or tax upon a ſet of men that had been bred for above forty years together in a ſpirit of independency. However, as thoſe knights had adhered to the Italian popes, only out of a notion, that they alone of all the competitors were the rightful ſucceſſors of St. Peter, and had ſubmitted to them in the ſincerity of their heart; theſe, as ſoon as they had account of the voluntary ceſſion of Gregory XII. and the unanimous election of Martin V. readily acknowledged this laſt pontiff; and from the ſame diſpoſition, received the viſitor with reſpect, making proteſtations of their filial obedience to the grand maſter, and promiſing to come to Rhodes to the general chapter, in order to receive its decrees in perſon, and conform themſelves to them in every article.

THE priors of Capua and Barletta, the commanders of St. Euphemia, Venuſia, Naples, and St. Stephen de Monopoli, and all the knights of the kingdom of Naples, excited by their example, diſpatched the chevalier de la Porte to the grand maſter, with a letter drawn up in the form of a legal inſtrument, wherein they acknowledged him for their lawful ſuperior, and demanded with earneſtneſs to be received immediately into an union with the body of the order, from which they ſaid they had been ſeparated by the misfortune of the times.

THEIR deputy met with the grand maſter at Bologna. That brave old man, notwithſtanding his great age,

age, and the fatigues he muſt neceſſarily paſs through in ſuch continual voyages, had come to Florence to confer with the pope, in order to find out an expedient to engage the moſt potent Chriſtian princes in a league againſt the ſons of Bajazet, who began to make themſelves formidable; and after having taken leave of the pontiff, he went to Bologna, where the envoy from Naples met him. The grand maſter was greatly pleaſed to ſee all his order united at laſt together, and informed with the ſame ſpirit of ſubmiſſion and obedience. His anſwer to the Neapolitan knights was, that now he had received ſuch a declaration of their ſubmiſſion and re-union with the body of the order, he had nothing more to wiſh for before he died; that he invited them to come to the general chapter that was to be held at Rhodes on the eighth of September that very year; and that in order to prepare the matters which were to be treated of in that place, it would be proper for them to meet him at Ancona, to deliberate together about them in an aſſembly which he would hold there before the end of March.

THE bailiffs, the priors, and the principal commanders of Italy, did not fail to come to the aſſembly. Brother John Pignatelli, commander of St. Stephen of Monopoli, was the only perſon, who, though expreſsly ſummoned, neglected to appear there. The grand maſter was at firſt of opinion to take no notice of the only perſon that proved refractory to his orders: he ſaw plainly that it was the dregs, and a ſort of leaven of the ſame rebellious ſpirit that had cauſed ſuch a deſtructive ſchiſm in the order; but as he was for extinguiſhing even the leaſt ſparks of it, he ordered him to be ſummoned a ſecond time to appear before him, allowing him only to the fifteenth of April for that purpoſe. The commander perſiſted in an obſtinate ſilence; and the grand maſter was forced to ſend him a third ſummons, enjoining him upon his obedience to come to Rhodes within five months, on pain of being degraded from the order, and deprived of his commandry. He perſiſted even ſome time longer in his

diſobedience; but ſeeing preparations made for executing the grand maſter's orders againſt him, he made his ſubmiſſion and returned to his duty. The next thing the aſſembly applied themſelves to, was to reſtore the regular diſcipline in all the provinces of Italy: ſeveral very neceſſary regulations were there made; what was leſs urgent was put off to the general chapter, and every body prepared to ſet out immediately for Rhodes.

THE grand maſter embarked ſoon after, and arrived ſafe at Rhodes towards the end of July, where he was received with univerſal joy, and with that tender reſpect which a great merit, ſupported by a great dignity, always inſpires. The people in particular, to whom he was a father rather than a prince, made bonfires on the day of his return, which was kept as a general feaſt all over the iſland. The grand maſter's firſt care was to examine into the ſtate of the magazines; and finding that the badneſs of the laſt harveſt had raiſed the price of corn, he ſent ſhips immediately to ſeveral ports of Italy, to fetch corn of all ſorts from thence, which brought back plenty into his territories.

THIS great man afterwards opened the general chapter. There had not for a conſiderable time been held any one ſo remarkable, either for the number of perſons that compoſed it, or for the importance of the matters there treated of. Here appeared for the firſt time moſt of the knights that had been before engaged in the ſchiſm, and had inſenſibly, though with good intentions, tranſgreſſed the bounds of their duty. They all returned to it: the priors and bailiffs of Italy, England, the kingdoms of the North, Bohemia, Hungary and Arragon, made a ſolemn recognition of the grand maſter as their head and only ſuperior; the ſchiſm was never mentioned but with deteſtation; the knights, who had been under different obediences in order to celebrate their re-union, embraced one another with joy; and both conſidering it as the reſult of the grand maſter's wiſdom, ſtrove to gueſs at his intentions, and anticipate them by conforming themſelves to them.

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The great and only object they all had in view was the glory of God, and the defence of their fellow Chriſtians; ſo that before the chapter broke up, he eaſily got ſeveral decrees paſſed, very neceſſary for the re-eſtabliſhment of diſcipline, and the regulation of the revenues of the order. He ſent the records of this chapter to the pope, who ratified them by his authority. 'Twas the ſeal which that wiſe pontiff put to the peace and union of the order; and it was likeways the laſt tranſaction that paſſed under the government of this grand maſter. It looked as if he waited only for the news of it, in order to quit life with greater ſatisfaction. He fell ill a little while after he had received the pope's brief, and without any preparation but that of an holy Life, ended his days with a tranquility that may be conſidered as a preſage of the felicity which heaven deſigned for him. 1421.

His place was filled by brother Anthony Fluvian, or de la Riviere, of the priory of Catalonia, ſtandard-bearer of the order, and grand prior of Cyprus, or great conſervator and lieutenant to his predeceſſor. The peace which the order had enjoyed in the laſt years of the maſterſhip of Naillac, was interrupted by ſeveral enterpriſes of the infidels; and the knights ſaw themſelves ſucceſſively attacked by the Turks of Aſia, and by the Saracens of Egypt. ANTHONY FLUVIAN.

WE have ſeen in the beginning of this book, in what manner the Ottoman power had like to have been entirely deſtroyed by the valour and good fortune of Tamerlane, and the captivity and death of Bajazet. This laſt prince left four ſons, Yſa or Joſhua, Muſa or Muſulman, Moſes and Mahomet. Joſhua, after Tamerlane's death, recovered Burſa from the Moguls, and would have made a greater progreſs, had he not been obliged to turn his arms againſt Muſulman, who, ſupported by a body of troops, which the emperor of Conſtantinople furniſhed him with, advances againſt his brother, attacks, beats, takes him priſoner, and cauſes him to be ſtrangled. Moſes, who ſeemed only to wait

the ſucceſs of this civil war, before he declared himſelf, appears upon the ſtage with a ſtrong army, eizes on Adrianople, and offers battle to his brother, but was betrayed by the Bulgarians in his army, who deſerted him in the heat of the engagement. Moſes knowing very well the fate allotted to the vanquiſhed, flies and gets into Adrianople, reſerving himſelf for another occaſion. He gathers together and rallies the remains of his army, bribes Chaſan aga of the Janizaries, and Ebrenez commander of the Spahi, who come over to his party. With this reinforcement he again marches againſt his brother, defeats his army, and getting him into his power, cauſes him to be ſtrangled.

THE Greek emperor, to foment this civil war among the Turks, ſets up Mahomet Zelebin, i. e. the young, againſt Moſes: he was the laſt of Bajazet's ſons, and during the misfortunes of his family, had been hid in the houſe of a lute-ſtring maker. 'Tis ſaid that he learned the trade, and that thoſe who were entruſted with his education did not let him know the greatneſs of his extraction, the better to conceal him. However it was, this young prince, with the ſuccours of the Greeks, of the prince of Caramania, and of the deſpot of Servia, levies an army; and though he had never made a campaign before, advances to attack his brother, and offers him battle, which he loſes. Notwithſtanding his defeat, he, by the aſſiſtance of his allies, levies new troops, and again advances towards his brother, holding at the ſame time a ſecret correſpondence with ſome perſons in his army. Chaſan aga of the Janizaries, and Ebrenez commander of the ſpahi, who had betrayed Muſulman to ſerve Moſes, now abandon this prince and go over to the army of Mahomet. The aga carried his rebellion and perfidiouſneſs ſtill farther; and before the two armies engaged, he advanced to the firſt ranks, endeavouring by ſeditious diſcourſes to corrupt the Janizaries that were left in Moſes's party. This prince, provoked at his impudence and treaſon, rides up to him, and with his ſcymitar in hand, aims at his head, but was prevented by Chaſan's ſquire, who cut off his

ſword

ſword hand. This unlucky accident decided the victory and his life; his ſoldiers ſeeing him return into their ranks with but one hand, and all over bloody, interpreted his wound as a manifeſtation of his being proſcribed by heaven; upon which they deſerted him, and went to lay their ſtandards and colours at the feet of Mahomet.

THE victorious prince cauſed Moſes, who was found hid in a marſh, to be firſt ſecured, and afterwards ſtrangled, becoming by his death aſſured of the crown, and of reigning without a competitor. The Turkiſh hiſtorians do not put Yſa or Joſhua, Muſulman, nor Moſes, who reigned one after another, in the liſt of their emperors, but reckon all that paſſed from Bajazet's death till Mahomet I. as an interregnum. But all the Greek authors place theſe princes among the ſultans; and as the hiſtory of the Ottomans makes part of that of the knights of St. John their perpetual enemies, we could not help giving a ſummary account of the ſucceſs of the civil wars which infeſted that new empire, till the advancement of Mahomet I. upon the throne of his anceſtors. This prince enjoyed the ſovereign authority peaceably during the eight years which he reigned, and was ſucceeded by Amurath II. his eldeſt ſon, one of the greateſt princes of that nation. The conqueſts of this laſt blotted out the remembrance of thoſe of Tamerlane, and reſtored the Ottoman empire to its former ſplendor. His arms were equally ſucceſsful in Europe and in Aſia. The Caramanian and other infidel princes of the eaſt felt their fury, as well as the Albanians, Hungarians and Tranſalpine Wallachians. He ravaged thoſe great provinces, making moſt of the ſovereigns tributaries to him, and would have extended his conqueſts ſtill farther, had not a ſtop been put to them by Scanderbeg, the ſon of John Caſtriot king of Albania, on one ſide, and by John Huniades Vaivod of Tranſylvania, and general of the troops of Hungary, on the other, both of them the greateſt captains of their age, who with an inconſiderable number of forces, but ſupported by an intrepid

courage,

courage, and the moſt exquiſite experience in war, checked the rapid progreſs of his arms.

He afterwards turned them againſt ſeveral princes that poſſeſſed places in the Morea, and in the iſles of the Archipelago. All theſe petty ſovereigns had recourſe to the order of St. John, and engaged the bailiff of the Morea to go to Rhodes to implore the ſuccour of the grand maſter. That prince, actuated by the ſpirit of his order, reſolved, in concert with the council, to ſend ſome gallies into thoſe ſeas, in order to diſcover the deſign of the infidels. But as they were preparing to put ſome troops on board, there came advice that the prince of Scanderoon or Alexandretta, in conjunction with other vaſſals of the grand ſeignior, was actually at ſea, with a fleet compoſed of veſſels of different bulk, and ſix gallies belonging to the lord of Scanderoon. The grand maſter readily ſuſpected their deſign to be againſt Rhodes, or at leaſt againſt the neighbouring iſles which depended on the order. This news ſuſpended the ſuccours deſigned for the Morea. They fitted out all the gallies of the order and ſailed in queſt of the enemies fleet: but as the infidels did not care to come to a deciſive battle, they avoided an engagement; and in order to make themſelves amends for the expence of this armament, they took ſome merchant ſhips of Rhodes and Venice.

Whilst the knights and the Turks, equally animated againſt one another, were roving up and down the ſeas, ravaging the coaſts, where they could make any deſcent, and labouring to ſurpriſe one another, there ſtarted up a new enemy to the order, who was almoſt as near Rhodes as the Turks, but more formidable, on account of his maritime forces, his fleets, and particularly from the skilfulneſs of his ſubjects in navigation, in which they excelled, eſpecially ſince he began his reign. I ſpeak of the famous ſultan of Egypt Alnazer-al-Daher, a Circaſſian by birth, whom the Mamelukes had raiſed to the throne. They admitted none into that body, which was the ſtrongeſt in Egypt, but foreign ſlaves; and theſe generally were young children

ren that had either been taken by the Tartars in their incurſions, or elſe ſold to them by their unnatural parents. The Egyptians bought all they could, and brought up theſe young men in exerciſes ſuitable to the profeſſion they deſigned them for; and when they were able to bear arms, they incorporated them into the body of the Mamalukes. 'Twas in this manner, that Daher, whom we are ſpeaking of, was admitted into that body; and after many long years of ſervice, and a great ſeries of glorious actions and diſtinguiſhed valour, was at laſt advanced to the ſovereign power, which by the laws of that body could never devolve from father to ſon, or deſcend to his heirs.

DAHER in order to maintain himſelf in a dignity ſubject to frequent revolutions, from the inconſtancy and ſeditious temper of the Mamalukes, and alſo to find employment for their courage, declared war againſt James of Luſignan king of Cyprus. His fleet landed a conſiderable army in the iſland. The king immediately applied to the order for aſſiſtance; and tho' the knights were then at peace with the Saracens, the grand maſter and council could not ſee their arms ſo near the iſle of Rhodes, without fearing ſome unhappy conſequences to the order from that war. As the territories belonging to it were ſituated between thoſe of the Turkiſh emperor and the ſultan of Egypt, the council was always ſo politic as to maintain peace with one of thoſe infidel princes, whilſt it was engaged in war with the other. Agreeable to this maxim they could have wiſhed to have had no quarrel with the Saracens, whilſt they were at war with the Turks. The grand maſter, in this view, omitted nothing that might contribute to the bringing about a peace between the ſultan of Egypt and the king of Cyprus; but as the Egyptian regulated his pretenſions by his forces, he inſiſted that the king of Cyprus ſhould acknowledge himſelf his vaſſal, and as ſuch, pay him and his ſucceſſors an annual tribute, and ſhould likewiſe re-imburſe him all the expence he had been at in that armament and expedition.

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THESE conditions were too hard to be accepted; ſo that there was a neceſſity of deciding the diſpute by arms. Acts of hoſtility were begun on both ſides. The order, as an ally of the crown of Cyprus, ſent over conſiderable ſuccours at different times. The war proved long and bloody. At laſt they came to a battle, the particulars of which we are unacquainted with. We only know in general, that the Chriſtians loſt it, and that a great number of Cypriot lords and gentlemen, and ſeveral knights of St. John, were ſlain at the ſame time. The Saracens had a compleat victory, and the king, to make the misfortune ſtill greater, fell into the hands of the infidels, who carried him to Alexandria.

THE grand maſter hearing this bad news, and fearing the infidels might ſeize on the whole iſland, ſent over new ſuccours of men and money, and gave ſecret aſſurances to the principal lords of the kingdom, that the order would never abandon them, provided they would not abandon themſelves; and that they ſhould take up a noble reſolution to die ſword in hand rather than ſubmit to the Mahometans. But thoſe lords, divided among themſelves, and effeminated by pleaſures, not diſcovering any great courage and reſolution, ſent, by the grand maſter's advice, embaſſadors to Egypt, to the ſultan's court, to treat for the ranſom of their ſovereign. The negotiation was ſpun out a great length. The ſultan, in hopes that his troops would ſoon reduce the whole iſland, was every day ſtarting new difficulties; but the Egyptian general ſoon found a ſtop put to the progreſs of his arms by the valour of the knights. By way of revenge, he ravaged the great commandry or bailliage which the order poſſeſſed in that iſland, demoliſhing the houſes, cutting down the trees, and rooting up the vines; ſo that this great commandry, which was reckoned the richeſt of the order, was entirely ruined. The ſultan too reſolved to turn the efforts of his arms againſt the iſle of Rhodes, hoping that if he could make himſelf maſter of it, that of Cyprus, being left deſtitute of the ſuccours of the knights, would of

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courſe fall into his hands. And as ambitious princes ſeldom ſet any bounds to their projects, the ſultan flattered himſelf, that the conqueſt of the iſles of Rhodes and Cyprus would pave the way to that of all the iſles of the Archipelago; and that after this, Aſia minor could never reſiſt a power ſo formidable as his would then be. Full of ſuch vaſt deſigns, the dangers and difficulties of which his ambition concealed from him, he again ſet the negotiation on foot with the embaſſadors of Cyprus. His miniſters ſet a price upon the king's liberty, and demanded an hundred and twenty thouſand florins of glod for his ranſom. The prince rejected this propoſal, not only becauſe he looked on the ſum as too extravagant, but alſo becauſe he wanted money, his exchequer being quite exhauſted by the war. But the grand maſter, who was afraid leſt the Saracens ſhould at laſt ſeize on the iſle of Cyprus, adviſed him to get out of the hands of thoſe barbarians at any rate; and the order, to facilitate his liberty, ſupplied him with the greateſt part of his ranſom. Peace was made on theſe conditions.

THE ſultan, to amuſe the grand maſter, and under pretence of deſiring to maintain a laſting peace with the order, renewed at the ſame time the treaty which the ſultan his predeceſſor had made during the maſterſhip of Naillac. But the grand maſter, who paid for good intelligence, and kept ſpies in Alexandria, and even in that prince's council, was ſoon informed of his moſt ſecret deſigns. To prevent being ſurpriſed by the Barbarian, he immediately ſent advice of it to pope Eugenius IV. and to moſt of the chriſtian princes, tranſmitting at the ſame time a general ſummons into all parts of the chriſtian world, with expreſs injunctions to the priors to ſend away forthwith 25 knights or commanders out of each priory to Rhodes. But a much greater number of them arrived, whom zeal and courage had drawn thither; part of them were kept at Rhodes, and the reſt diſtributed into the iſles belonging to the order. Brother Hugh de Sarcus, grand prior of France, ſent to the capital of the order a ſhip laden

laden with croſs-bows, arrow-heads, and other arms neceſſary for the defence of the place. The grand maſter took care to ſupply it with corn and all ſorts of proviſions: in fine, this worthy chief, by his vigilance and activity, put himſelf in ſo good a poſture to receive the enemy, that the news of his armament ſoon paſſed into Egypt; and the ſultan flattering himſelf that the order could not long maintain ſo great a number of knights, thought fit to ſuſpend his enterpriſe.

THIS great expence however having emptied the treaſury of the order, the grand maſter, to fill it again, reſolved to call a general chapter at Rhodes, as the cuſtom was in thoſe times: the priors generally brought to the chapters the reſponſions of the commandries that lay within their priories, with a liſt of thoſe who had not diſcharged that obligation: and as it was impoſſible for the order to maintain ſo many different wars againſt the infidels without this ſupply, the chapter decreed ſevere penalties againſt ſuch as were negligent and refractory, endeavouring at the ſame time by new citations, to raiſe the neceſſary funds for the armaments of the order.

'TWAS with this deſign, and with a view of reſtoring a regularity in diſcipline, that the grand maſter called the chapter at Rhodes, to be held there on May 23. 1428. at which, among a great number of priors, bailiffs, and commanders, were alſo brother John de Vivone, prior of Aquitain, and lieutenant to the grand maſter in the three languages of France; brother John de Ventadour, great commander; brother Anthony de St. Chamand, marſhal of the order; brother John de Laſtic, prior of Auvergne; brother Gratian de la Tour, bailiff of the commerce of Rhodes, and ſeveral other old knights of different nations.

THE grand maſter opened the chapter with a diſcourſe, in which he repreſented the unavoidable expences the order had been obliged to put themſelves to, both in defending the iſland of Cyprus, as well as in guarding againſt the ſultan's ill deſigns, the conſequences

ſequences of which were always to be feared; that Rhodes and the iſlands which depended on it, if they did not keep up a ſufficient body of forces, could never be ſecured from the attempts of Amurath; and that the order ſupported itſelf only by the jealouſy that was fomented between the Turks and Saracens, two formidable powers, which it would be hard to reſiſt, if from a zeal for a religion that was common to both, they ſhould join their forces againſt the order; that in this ſituation nothing came into the treaſury out of the priories of France, the commandries of which had been ruined in the war carried on by the Engliſh in that kingdom; that Bohemia, Moravia, and Sileſia, being haraſſed by the Huſſites, did not furniſh any quota to the order; that Poland being engaged in a war againſt the Teutonic knights, ſcarce kept up any correſpondence with Rhodes; and that it was the buſineſs of the chapter, by ſome wiſe regulations, to re-eſtabliſh, as near as poſſible, the reſponſions on the old footing, which thoſe ſeveral nations ſeemed entirely to have forgot.

THE chapter, out of regard to theſe juſt remonſtrances, and to make up the fund of the reſponſions of France, granted leave to alienate ſeveral lands belonging to the commandries of the order to ſecular perſons, for whom they lay convenient, provided always that ſuch alienations were made only for life, and at a certain rate. With the ſame view, they, by the next ſtatute, erected a new dignity in the language of Germany, that of great bailiff, and annexed to it an inſpection and authority over all the priories and commandries lying in Germany, particularly in Bohemia and the adjoining provinces, where the Huſſites had made cruel ravages ever ſince the execution of John Hus and Jerom of Prague at the council of Conſtance. To the authority and functions of grand bailiff of Germany, they annexed likewiſe the inſpection over the governor and caſtle of St. Peter, a ſtrong place in Caria, built, as we have obſerved, near or upon the foundations of the old city of Halicarnaſſus, and ſerv-

ing for a bulwark to the iſle of Rhodes on the ſide of Aſia minor and the main land. The great bailiff was to viſit this place every year, either in perſon or by his lieutenant. He was empowered by his commiſſion to review the garriſon; to break uſeleſs ſoldiers; to fill up their places with others more capable of ſerving; in a word, every thing that concerned the defence of that caſtle and its territory was put under his juriſdiction, except only the houſhold and officers of the governor, and ſome ſoldiers, who after the taking of Smyrna by the Mogul Tartars, had thrown themſelves into the ſea, and ſwimming to the ſhips of the order that lay at anchor, eſcaped the fury of thoſe barbarians. The order by way of recompence for their valour, had aſſigned them this place as a retirement for the reſt of their lives, where they were taken care of, and maintained at the public expence. The chapter had afterwards given the iſland of Nizzaro to brother Fantin Quirini, prior of Rome, by an infeofment, on condition of paying an annual rent of 600 florins of gold to the public treaſury; of maintaining there, at his own expence, a garriſon neceſſary for its defence; and of giving ſubſiſtence to two knights and a ſerving brother. 'Twas then the cuſtom in all the priories of the order, that when they admitted a young knight, they aſſigned him at the ſame time a commandry for his reſidence, the commander whereof was to ſubſiſt and maintain him, and bring him up in the ſpirit of the order, till ſuch time as he was qualified to go to Rhodes.

BY this wiſe regulation, the practice of which it were to be wiſhed might be reſtored, no young knights were to be ſeen wandering about in cities and provinces, and often without having any thing religious about them but the croſs of the order, which ſome ſtill wear rather as a badge of diſtinction that flatters their vanity, than as a mark of the obligations they have entered into before the altar, of leading an holy and regular life.

BE that as it will, at preſent we find in the annals of the order, that the commander of Cagnac deſiring to be excuſed from receiving into his houſe a young knight called brother William de Riery, who had been aſſigned the commandry of Cagnac for his reſidence; the commander, whether he pretended that his houſe was too full of pupils, or that it was the turn of the commander of St. Sulpice, ſent him to him. This latter refuſed to receive him, and complained to the grand maſter, who being very juſtly angry at the commander of Cagnac, threatned to deprive him of his habit and commandry, if he neglected to provide for the young knight whom the order had committed to his care; a circumſtance which I ſhould not have taken notice of, had it not ſerved to ſhew, that in the middle of the fifteenth age, near 400 years after the firſt inſtitution of the order, all the commandries of it were like ſo many ſeminaries and academies, where the knights were alike educated in piety and the exerciſe of arms, two qualities, which though they happen not to meet together in ſecular perſons, may nevertheleſs form great men in each particular kind, but which ought to be ever united in a knight of the order of St. John.

'TWAS from the ſame ſpirit of regularity, and to keep the knights the more cloſely to their reſidence, that the grand maſter forbad them, by an expreſs bull, to go to Rome, and ſettle in the pope's court, without his permiſſion, or that of the procurator general of the order. He made this wiſe regulation in order to check the reſtleſs and ambitious humour of ſome knights, who the ſooner to poſſeſs themſelves of the commandries and principal dignities, inſtead of meriting them by their ſervices, ſought to get them by recommendation from the pope or his cardinals, who had the greateſt hand in the government of the church. Thus was it that the grand maſter, in the interval which the truce made with the ſultan of Egypt allowed him, employed his authority to maintain a regularity of diſcipline among his religious. To make their abode in the iſle and

convent of Rhodes more convenient for them, he built a magnificent infirmary upon the foundations of the old one, endowing it at his own expence. According to the ſpirit and conſtant practice of the order, ſuch knights as were ſick or wounded, were viſited and taken care of there, with all the regard and attention due to noble perſonages, that repreſented the conquerors of the iſle, and were every day defending the poſſeſſion and ſovereignty of it at the expence of their blood.

IN the practice of theſe peaceful virtues, did the grand maſter Anthony Fluvian, or de la Riviere, end
1437. his days. He ſaw the approaches of death without any diſturbance, and great piety: and deſiring to die as he had always lived, a true religious, he diſpoſed of all his effects, and ſent 200,000 ducats into the treaſury, the fruit of his thriftineſs and retrenchments from that magnificence which luxury and vanity at that time required of ſuch as filled the firſt dignities in the church.

THE chapter aſſembled immediately to provide him a ſucceſſor, and the members of it had recourſe to arbitration: they firſt made choice of 13 knights, to whom the chapter referred the right of election. Theſe 13 electors prepared themſelves for it by receiving the ſacraments of penance and the holy euchariſt: they afterwards ſhut themſelves up in a room diſtinct from the chapter-houſe, and after a careful examination of the merit of the ſeveral candidates, of their perſonal qualities, and eſpecially of thoſe which were moſt proper for government, they unanimouſly gave their votes in favour of brother JOHN DE LASTIC,
JOHN DE LASTIC 1437. grand prior of Auvergne, who was acknowledged in form by all the chapter as grand maſter of the order. As that lord was then at his priory, they immediately diſpatched two grand croſſes to carry him the inſtrument of his election; but before theſe deputies ſet out for Rhodes, the convent made them take an oath, that they would not ask any favour of him before he had taken

taken poſſeſſion of his dignity, none eſpecially that might be to the prejudice of the ſenior knights of the order.

THE grand maſter, upon the news of his election, made the beſt of his way for Rhodes. As ſoon as he arrived there, he received advice from the ſpies which the order kept in Egypt, that ſecret deſigns were forming in that kingdom againſt the iſle of Rhodes, and what was ſtill worſe, theſe ſpies informed him, that they ſuſpected that Amurath II. emperor of the Turks, approved this enterprize, or at leaſt would not oppoſe it.

THE emulation and jealouſy between thoſe two neighbouring powers had ſerved hitherto as a kind of ſuccour to the order: but Amurath being uneaſy at the league made againſt him by the chriſtian princes, was well enough ſatisfied that the ſultan of Egypt ſhould at this juncture find employment for all the forces of the knights. However, as they were not yet fully acquainted with that prince's intentions, the grand maſter ſent brother John Morel, prior of the church, to him, as his embaſſador, under pretence of notifying his election to him, and to demand of him a renewing of the truce which the order had made with his predeceſſor. 'Twas a common practice in the order, and which the popes had authorized, for the knights to make a truce with one party of infidels, at the ſame time they were oppoſing another. The prior of Rhodes executed his commiſſion with great skill and addreſs. The grand ſeignor returned the civilities paid him in the new grand maſter's name, with other compliments, but expreſſed in general terms that carried no meaning with them; declining at the ſame time to enter into any negotiation, under pretence that the old treaties were ſufficient for the ſecurity of both ſides. The prior returned to Rhodes, and acquainted the grand maſter, that though war was not declared, yet peace was not the more to be depended on. The grand maſter, in order to diſcover, if poſſible, the deſigns of the infidels, ſent William de Laſtic his nephew, ſeneſ-

chal of the order, with two veſſels, towards the coaſt of Egypt and Barbary. This knight was not long before he returned to Rhodes, and acquainted the grand maſter that he would be immediately attacked by all the forces of Egypt. The certainty of war made the knights arm without loſs of time; they fitted out eight gallies, four ſhips with high decks, and ſeveral tranſport veſſels, putting a conſiderable body of troops on board of them, working at the ſame time in the iſle of Rhodes, and thoſe adjacent to it, in order to put the principal places in a condition of defence.

THE ſultan on his ſide put to ſea a conſiderable fleet, conſiſting of eighteen gallies, a great number of veſſels of different bulk, well provided with arms, and laden with a conſiderable body of croſs-bow-men and land forces. But to give ſome colour to this armament, the ſultan pretended, that the iſle of Rhodes, as well as that of Cyprus, depended formerly on the empire of Egypt. The firſt attempt made by his forces, was upon a little iſland called Chateau-roux, ſituated an hundred miles to the eaſt of the iſle of Rhodes, and only a mile, or at moſt a French league, from Lycia. This iſle, or rather this rock, belonged to the order, who had fortified it with a caſtle, over the gate of which the arms of the order of St. John, and thoſe of Arragon, were quartered; a circumſtance which might incline us to believe that it was the language of that nation which had fortified this little place.

THE Saracens met with little oppoſition in making their deſcent, and in all probability ſeized on this little caſtle with the like eaſe; at leaſt there is no paſſage in hiſtory that takes notice of any conſiderable combat that happened; they re-embarked after having deſtroyed this ſettlement, ſailed for Rhodes, and appeared off the iſland on September 25th, 1440.

THE inhabitants emulating the example and care of the grand maſter and his knights, had taken arms, and lining the coaſts, appeared reſolute to oppoſe the infidels, if they ſhould offer to make a deſcent. The marſhal of the order, who, by virtue of that poſt, had

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the command of the fleet, ſailed out of the port in good order, and though he was much inferior to the enemy in number of ſhips, yet he advanced boldly and offered them battle. The infidels, who imagined that all the ſhips of the order were out a cruizing were ſurprized to ſee this armament, and retired into a bay, where turning the poops of their ſhips towards the land, they contented themſelves with making a great fire with their artillery, to keep the Chriſtians at a diſtance. They were anſwered in the ſame manner; the reſt of the day paſſed in cannonading one another, and night coming on, the Chriſtian fleet put into the port of Rhodes, the commander of it deſigning, after he had taken in ſome powder and freſh troops, to return immediately in queſt of the enemy: but the Saracens ſeeing that it was impracticable to attack Rhodes in ſight of the chriſtian fleet, ſet ſail in the night. Their deſign was to ſurpriſe the iſle of Lango. The marſhal, whoſe experience ſupplied the place of ſpies, gueſſing at their deſign, put out to ſea at the ſame time, and crowding all the ſail he could, and his men plying their oars, he advanced with great expedition under the cannon of the caſtle of Lango, ſo that the Saracens, when they came up, were ſtrangely ſurpriſed to find him in their front, drawn up in the order of battle, and offering to fight them a ſecond time.

THE Egyptian admiral, aſtoniſhed at this, tacked about to avoid an engagement, and got to an iſland which belonged to the Turks; and entering into the harbour, which ſeemed in a manner abandoned, he joined his gallies to one another, with their prows towards the ſea, and erected batteries upon them, to repulſe the knights if they ſhould offer to attack him; and the Turks, who inhabited the iſland, knowing Amurath's intentions, and influenced likeways by the religion which they profeſſed in common with the Saracens, ran to their ſuccour againſt the Chriſtians.

THE marſhal, who had followed the Egyptian fleet without loſing ſight of it, ſeeing it ſo well fortified, called a council of war. Moſt of the officers, in order

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to diſſuade him from attacking the infidels, repreſented to him their number and forces, which were much ſuperior to thoſe of the order; and beſides, there was a bad bottom in that place, it being filled with a quick ſand that was very dangerous. They were all for returning to Rhodes; but the marſhal, who did not know what danger was, told them that the knights of St. John were never uſed to count the number of their enemies, and that he would ſooner chuſe to meet with a grave in the ſea, than ly under the reproach of ſeeing the barbarians ſo near him, without daring to attack them. But as his capacity was no ways inferior to his valour, he put his troops on board flat-bottomed veſſels, that drew leſs water, and advancing at their head, being covered at the ſame time by his artillery, he attacked the Saracens, who received him with a ſmart fire from their cannon and muskets. If the attack was briſk, the defence was equally as brave, and the Saracens, ſupported by the Turks, exerted themſelves to the utmoſt, in order to hinder the Chriſtians from approaching their gallies. The night coming on, parted the combatants; the infidels loſt above ſeven hundred men on this occaſion, and on the Chriſtians ſide they did not compute above ſixty. The marſhal, covered over with the blood of his enemies, and wounded in five ſeveral places, made for Rhodes, upon ſome ſigns of bad weather, and for fear of a ſtorm, which the pilots were threatened with. The infidels took the advantage of his retreat, to get out of thoſe ſeas in the night time, and came firſt off the iſle of Cyprus: there they made a deſcent, and ſet fire to the great commandry of the order, which was all the advantage the ſultan had from an armament and expedition which had put him to a conſiderable expence.

THIS ill ſucceſs ſerved only to exaſperate him the more: he diſſembled however his reſentment, and the deſigns he had in view, in order to have an opportunity of falling upon them with a greater force. But the grand maſter was not impoſed upon: new fortifications were by his orders added to the city of Rhodes, and

and he ſupplied the magazines with ammunition and proviſions. Theſe firſt inſtances of his care were followed with a general citation, ſummoning all the knights able to bear arms, to repair to the convent: and the prince granted at the ſame time a general pardon to all exiles and criminals, excepting ſuch as were guilty of high treaſon, and incendiaries. He carried his views farther, and ſent embaſſadors to moſt of the courts of Europe to ſollicit ſuccours. Theſe embaſſadors did not fail to lay before thoſe ſovereigns the power and forces of the ſultan of Egypt, and to repreſent that that infidel prince was ready to lay ſiege to Rhodes; and that if they ſhould abandon the order in this juncture, all that the knights could expect, after a long defence, would be to bury themſelves under the ruins of the place; but that the chriſtian princes would ly under an eternal reproach, ſhould they ſuffer the ruin of an iſland and a ſtate, that ſerved for a bulwark to Chriſtendom, and which, by its lying ſo near to the holy land, might facilitate the conqueſt of it. The ſeveral princes, to whom theſe embaſſadors were ſent, made no other return to all theſe juſt remonſtrances, than by employing a few empty expreſſions of an uſeleſs compaſſion. Moſt of them, detained at home by wars with their neighbours, did not think it proper to leave their dominions in ſuch a juncture: beſides, the firſt fire of devotion, which had produced ſo many cruſades, was now in a manner ſpent; and a great many looked upon thoſe tranſports of piety, either as a reſult of a miſtaken and irregular zeal, or perhaps as one of thoſe ſprings which politicians ſet a-going, in order to ſend away thoſe princes and great men whom they thought too potent, and too jealous of the privileges of their dignity, at a diſtance from their country, and keep them there on a pretence of devotion.

BE that as it will, the order obtained no ſuccours from the chriſtian princes in this juncture. John Paleologus, emperor of Conſtantinople, was the only one that made a league offenſive and defenſive with them againſt the ſultan of Egypt; but this league produced

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nothing but a treaty that had no manner of conſequence or effect. Of all thoſe vaſt dominions that had belonged formerly to the empire of the great Conſtantine, nothing was then left to Paleologus but only the city of Conſtantinople, with its adjoining territory. The Turks kept that prince blocked up as it were on all ſides; ſo that out of regard to his own preſervation, and for fear of ſeeing himſelf ſpeedily beſieged, he durſt not part with the ſuccours which he had ſtipulated to ſend to Rhodes. This inſignificant treaty was followed by another made with the ſultan of Egypt himſelf, which indeed ſeemed to be ſomething more advantageous; but that prince, who was an excellent politician, concluded it only with a deſign of amuſing the grand maſter.

SIR Fantin Quirini, a noble Venetian, bailiff of Lango, and great admiral of the order, held the iſland of Nizzaro of it by way of fief, and was obliged to take the care of defending thoſe two iſles. The ſultan apprehending, that if he ſhould make his attack on that ſide, Quirini's relations, who had a ſtrong intereſt in the ſenate, might prevail with the republic to ſend troops to the aſſiſtance of the order, notified to him, that out of regard to his nation, with which he had always lived in good correſpondence, he would readily agree to a treaty of neutrality for the iſlands which were under his government. Quirini communicated theſe propoſitions to the grand maſter and council of the order; ſome fed themſelves with hopes that this private treaty might be improved to a more general one, and perhaps to the re-eſtabliſhment of peace: but the moſt skilful were of a different opinion, judging that the ſole motive of the ſultan's offering this neutrality, was only to prevent a rupture with the Venetians, who alone enjoyed the commerce of Alexandria, and with a ſuppoſition, that if he could once make himſelf maſter of Rhodes, the neighbouring iſles, which depended on it, would follow the fate of the capital, and fall of courſe into his hands. However, as the order would, by this treaty, be diſcharged from the care and expence

pence of maintaining troops in thoſe two iſlands, they told the bailiff that he might conclude it, provided it was drawn up in terms ſuitable to the ſovereignty of the order.

THE ſultan, from a motive that was very near of the ſame nature with that above-mentioned, agreed with the king of Cyprus on a like neutrality, for the veſſels of Rhodes and Egypt that ſhould put into the ports of his kingdom. Yet in the midſt of theſe preliminary treaties, which ſeemed to uſher in a peace, or at leaſt a long truce, a conſiderable fleet of the ſultan's was again ſeen off of the iſle of Rhodes, which landed eighteen thouſand foot in that place, beſides a ſtrong body of horſe and Mamalukes, in which the principal ſtrength of the Egyptians conſiſted. Theſe barbarians, without ſitting down before any other place in the iſland, marched directly to the capital, which they beſieged at the ſame time that their fleet lay off at ſea, in order to block up the port, and prevent the throwing in of ſuccours. Auguſt. 1444.

THE reader may juſtly expect to meet in this place with an exact relation of this ſiege, with the particulars of the ſallies made by the knights, the ſtormings which they oppoſed, and the killed and wounded on both ſides; but theſe knights knew much better how to handle their ſwords than their pens. The little learning at that time in the order, and indeed in that age, has deprived us of ſo curious and ſo important a relation: all that is to be found in the regiſters of the chancery, is, that the ſiege laſted forty days; that the infidels battered down the place with a great train of artillery; that there were ſeveral aſſaults given, in which they were always repulſed; and that their general, having loſt the beſt part of his troops, re-imbarked with the remainder, and was the firſt that carried to his maſter the news of the ill ſucceſs of his arms.

THE grand maſter wiſely judging that it would not be long before the infidels would make him another viſit under the walls of Rhodes, diſpatched William

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de Lastic his nephew into the west, to give the pope and most of the christian princes an account of the advantages lately gained by the order over the Saracens. He took this step in hopes of obtaining some succour: and that sovereigns, like other men, would declare themselves more freely for the victorious party. In fact, as soon as they heard in Europe that the knights had drove the infidels out of their isle, abundance of the young nobility of Europe, particularly the gentlemen of the kingdoms of France and Spain, fond of sharing in the glory of the order, were very eager to be admitted into it. This was a very seasonable recruit, and helped to fill up the forces of the order, which had been much diminished by losses which are inseparable from war. But this, at the same time, was an additional expence to the convent; and in order to make a provision for it, the grand master called a general chapter at Rhodes, which was to assemble July 25th.

WHILST this assembly was sitting, the grand master received an account from the seneschal his nephew, that he had gone through most of the courts of Europe, but found the princes so exasperated against one another, and so universally engaged in war, that there were no hopes of any great succcour. The grand master and the chapter saw plainly by these letters, that they must rely upon their own strength entirely; whereupon, by common consent, they encreased the responsions for five years. By the same statute, the priors were forbid to receive a greater number of knights than the order could maintain; and they agreed that the grand master should be empowered to put an end to this destructive war, by a peace, if they made him any overtures of it. The treaty was carried on the year following by the agency of James Cœur, a French merchant, who was afterwards treasurer to Charles VII king of France. He was a citizen of the town of Bourges, a man of *petite generation*[a], as an histo-

[a] Histoire de Charles VII. Roy de France, par Mat. de Coucy, p. 6[illegible] [illegible] de Louvre.

hiſtorian of the time expreſſes it, to ſhew that he was born of parents who were not noble. But the defect of birth, if it really be a defect, was abundantly repaired by the greatneſs of his genius, by his induſtry and his application. France never gave birth to a merchant who extended its commerce ſo far, and made ſuch prodigious profits: he had whole fleets at his command, and above three hundred factors diſperſed in ſeveral countries of Europe and Aſia, and even as far as *Sarraſiname*, as the author abovementioned expreſſes it. 'Twas one of theſe factors, who, in virtue of the ſafe-conducts which he had for his commerce, conducted the agent of the order to Alexandria on board his maſter's gallies. A peace was made, but all that we know of the conditions of the treaty is, that the envoy of Rhodes, after it was concluded, brought back with him into the iſland a great number of chriſtian ſlaves and priſoners that had been taken during the war. A bull of the grand maſter's, bearing date Feb. 8. 1446. is ſtill preſerved in the treaſury of the order, in which he orders brother Raimond d'Arpajon grand prior of St. Giles, and the receiver of the language of Provence, to pay James Cœur what was due to him for this voyage.

THE grand maſter's joy in having procured ſo many poor Chriſtians their liberty, was a little damped by the concern that ſome letters ſent 1448. from pope Nicholas V. gave him. There were ſome commanders at Rome, and at the pontiff's court, who were uneaſy at the reſponſions of their commandries being encreaſed; they complained to the pope of it, as if it had been a tyrannical impoſition, and as if the grand maſter and the chapter had exceeded the bounds ſet to their authority by the ſtatutes. Nicholas V. being prejudiced againſt the grand maſter, and without examining whether there were any miſrepreſentation in theſe complaints, wrote about them in harſh terms to Laſtic, ſending him at the ſame time a collection of the ſtatutes made in the laſt chapter, which he ſuppoſed had been tranſgreſſed, and which

he ordered him to obſerve for the future as the rule of his conduct.

THE grand maſter laid the pope's letters before the council, and made an anſwer in terms which indeed were very reſpectful; but at the ſame time full of that reſolution which truth and juſtice always inſpire. He repreſented to that pontiff, that pope Eugenius IV. his predeceſſor, after having examined the accounts of the expence the order had been at in ſuſtaining the ſiege of Rhodes, had approved the augmentation of the penſions, in order to pay off the debts it had been obliged to contract during the war; that ſuch as made their complaints on this article were unworthy to wear the habit, fellows, ſays he, that never ſaw Rhodes, or elſe made but a ſtay here, and with a deſign only of getting rid of the regular diſcipline, or probably to keep out of the way of dangers that are uſual in war, eſpecially in a bloody ſiege; that moſt of thoſe religious, inſtead of reſiding ſo much as upon their commandries, which they were obliged to do, and exerciſing the duties of hoſpitality, had entirely devoted themſelves to the court of Rome, where they paſſed away their lives in luxury and pleaſure; that he beſought his holineſs to ſend them back immediately to the convent, to live in the chief houſe of their order, and to learn from the example of their brother companions, the life a true knight of St. John ought to lead. As to the ſtatutes which his holineſs had ſent to him, they agreed in council, after having exactly compared them with the originals, that it could be the work only of ſome forger of writings, who had inſerted ſeveral articles that were never heard of before in the order, and which were invented only to encourage the ſpirit of appropriation and libertiniſm of thoſe profligate knights.

THE indignation which the grand maſter diſcovered againſt thoſe mutineers was the better founded, in that they lived under his government at Rhodes, in an exact obſervance of their rule and ſtatutes; that in the very heat of the armaments which were frequently making, the knights never neglected to keep a ſtrict faſt during

during Advent and Lent; that they abſtained from meat every Wedneſday in the year; and that in the refectory, and all other regular places, no body durſt interrupt a ſilence, which in that place was obſerved as regularly as in a community of monks and hermits. The grand maſter's letter, drawn up in form of an apology, was ſigned by the whole council, and the pope ſeemed ſatisfied with it.

BUT ſeveral of the European commanders, who were ſupported by the protection of ſome cardinals, and had alſo powerful friends in the order, and in the very council, were not a jot more exact in paying their reſponſions: ſo that one would have thought that they would pretend to free themſelves from their vow of obedience. The order, by their rebellion, fell inſenſibly into a kind of anarchy: ſeveral chapters, and various aſſemblies were held on this account, in which very wholſome regulations were made, but diſobedience, power, credit and cabal, rendered them entirely ineffectual.

THE council ſeeing the authority of the government ſlighted, could not think of a more proper remedy, in order to put a ſtop to ſo great a diſorder, than by putting the ſovereign authority, and the entire diſpoſition of the revenue into the hands of the grand maſter only. This was a ſort of dictatorſhip, which is always dangerous in a republican ſtate; but they were ſo perſuaded of the zeal of Laſtic, of his ſincere piety, and withal of his moderation, that they made no difficulty of entruſting him with an abſolute authority. He excuſed himſelf at firſt from accepting it on account of his great age; and for fear of breaking in upon the ancient conſtitution of the order, of which he was a zealous obſerver; he could not be brought to comply with the preſſing ſolicitations of his religious, but upon condition that this alteration in the government ſhould laſt only for three years, after the expiration of which term, the ſupreme council ſhould reſume its ancient authority.

THE wiſdom and reſolution of his conduct ſoon juſtified the choice the order had made: By virtue of the regulations made in the laſt chapter, he threatned openly to deprive all thoſe of their commandries, and even to degrade them from the order, who did not by a certain ſtated time pay in their reſponſions. Theſe menaces, from a ſovereign and a ſuperior, whom they knew incapable of being moved by any recommendation, intimidated the moſt rebellious. They all gave ſecurity for their obedience, till ſuch time as they ſhould meet with an opportunity of remitting money to Rhodes, all bowed and ſubmitted before the authority of ſo worthy an head, armed with ſo juſt an authority.

BUT as funds in the beginning were wanting, in order to pay the debts, and provide for the indiſpenſable neceſſities of the order, he took them up on the revenues appropriated to the maſterſhip. The firſt uſe that he made of his new authority was to ſtrip himſelf; and like a true father, ſacrificed with pleaſure the great revenues annexed to his dignity, for the maintenance of his children, and the ſubſiſtence of the troops which the order kept in the ſeveral iſlands which then compoſed its dominions. However, that they might not abuſe his eaſineſs, he commanded all ſuch commanders as reſided at Rhodes, and received the value of an hundred crowns of gold revenue from their commandries, not to receive any thing more out of the treaſury of the order for their ſubſiſtence.

THIS regulation of domeſtic diſcipline was ſucceeded by more important concerns. As in the diſorder that the revenue was in, they had reaſon to fear a rupture with the Turks, who were never very ſcrupulous in obſerving treaties, the grand maſter ſent embaſſadors to Amurath II. who was then upon the throne, to diſcover how that prince was diſpoſed with reſpect to the order. We have ſeen, during the war which the ſultan of Egypt was making in the iſle of Rhodes, how Amurath, that he might take his meaſures according as events ſhould happen, put off the grand maſter's propoſal of renewing the antient treaties of peace. The new

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embaſſadors of the order found him more compliant at this juncture: that prince had enough to do to defend himſelf againſt a formidable league of chriſtian princes, into which the king of Hungary, the famous John Huniades, vaivod of Tranſilvania, the Wallachians, Scander-beg king of Albania, and even Uſum-Caſſan king of Perſia, had entered. But of all his enemies, none was ſo terrible to him as the king or prince of Albania.

ALBANIA, a province of Europe, is ſituated eaſtward of us along the gulph of Venice; it has on the eaſt Macedonia, of which it was formerly a part, Epirus on the ſouth, and on the north Servia, and a corner of Dalmatia. Some high mountains divide it from Epirus, and other mountains, marſhes, craggy rocks, and narrow paſſes make the country impaſſable to troops that are unacquainted with the ground. This advantageous ſituation, with the courage and ferocity of thoſe mountaineers, made them terrible to their neighbours, eſpecially to the Turks: Amurath undertook to ſubdue them. John Caſtriot, who reigned then in this country, defended himſelf for a long time with great courage; but he was forced at laſt to yield to forces ſuperior to thoſe of his little ſtate. Caſtriot, to ſave the poor remains of his fortune, entered into a treaty with the Turkiſh prince, and as a pledge of his ſubjection, was obliged to give him his three ſons, Conſtantine, George and John, in hoſtage. Amurath, without any regard to the faith of this treaty, ordered them to be circumciſed, and inſtructed in the Mahometan law; and the father of theſe three unfortunate princes, hearing of their misfortune, died of grief. Amurath, under pretence of ſecuring the principality to the children of the abovementioned Albanian prince, ſeized upon it, and put ſtrong garriſons into all the places.

'Tis not known what became of the two eldeſt ſons of John Caſtriot. Moſt hiſtorians accuſe Amurath of poiſoning them; others ſay that he only put out their eyes, and incapacitated them from ever having any heirs. The like fate was deſigned for the third; but

they ſay Amurath was ſo charmed with his agreeable mien, and a certain air of grandeur that diſcovered itſelf already in that young prince, that he exempted him from thoſe puniſhments, and ordered him to be carefully brought up in the religion of Mahomet, and in all the exerciſes proper for a ſoldier.

As ſoon as he was able to bear arms, Amurath took him with him into the field; and in his very firſt campaign, he performed actions of ſuch ſurpriſing valour, that the grand ſeignior, by way of alluſion to the name of a great king of Macedonia, would have him called Scander-beg, i. e. lord Alexander. All the ſucceeding part of his life correſponded with this favourable beginning: whether he was engaged in duels and ſingle combats, which he undertook againſt adventurers who challenged him at the head of armies, or elſe in general battles, he always gained the honour of the day. He ſoon became the favourite of Amurath, and afterwards one of his generals; but the remembrance of Albania, which the young prince conſidered as his inheritance, and a ſecret uneaſineſs to ſee himſelf engaged in a religion different from that of his father's, affected him more than all the ſultan's favour, ſo that he was reſolutely bent to recover his dominions at any rate, and return to his mother the church.

Scander-beg being fixed in this deſign, took his time when Amurath's ſecretary was in the country. He came to him, drew him aſide, and having forced him to draw up letters patent directed to the governour of Croia, the capital of Albania, by which he was ordered to deliver up the government of that place to Scander-beg, he immediately ſtabbed that miniſter, and ſlew all his train to a man, and advanced with all poſſible diligence to the gates of Croia. He was received into that capital of Albania with all the reſpect that was due to the orders he brought; but in the night, letting in three hundred men, which he had cauſed to advance and poſt themſelves privately near the gates of the city, he put the Turkiſh governor and all the garriſon to the ſword, and without loſing time, haſted into all parts

parts of Albania, which he reduced into his power. Moſt of the chriſtian princes his neighbours ſent to congratulate him on his good ſucceſs; and the Venetians, who looked upon his dominions as a barrier to cover thoſe of the republic, ſupplied him with conſiderable ſums to levy troops.

There was no want of ſoldiers: the Albanians, a warlike people, offered themſelves in crouds to take the field; but out of this great number, which would have formed a conſiderable army, he choſe only eight thouſand foot and ſeven thouſand horſe. With this ſmall body of troops, and the advantage of the mountains and narrow paſſes with which the country abounded, he beat four great armies of the Turks. The firſt commanded by Ali, the ſecond by Feris-beg, and the two others by Muſtapha Baſha, Baſſa or Pacha, as different authors write him. Amurath aſcribing theſe great loſſes to a want of courage or capacity in his generals, fancied the war would go on more ſucceſsfully under his own direction, and therefore reſolved to command his troops in perſon: he marched at the head of a formidable army to attack Scander-beg, and indeed carried ſome places, but the taking of them coſt him more ſoldiers than the loſs of a battle would have done. He was attended in this expedition by young Mahomet his ſon, whoſe valour, courage and reſolution, as much as his birth, had engaged him to take him in for his partner in the empire; having a mind to ſhew his troops at one and the ſame time the capacity of an old captain, and the ardor and fire of a young conqueror.

IN the ſecond campaign, the two ſultans prepared to form the ſiege of Croia, the capital of Albania; but before they undertook it, that they might not be diſturbed in the execution of their deſigns, they made a treaty of peace with the Venetians, in which it was expreſsly ſtipulated, that the republic ſhould hold no correſpondence with the prince of Albania. 'Twas from the ſame motive, and in order to ſecure himſelf againſt all apprehenſions from the fleets of the order, that

that Amurath renewed with the grand maſter the treaties of peace which he had made with his predeceſſor.

THE ſiege of Croia proved unhappy to the Turks: Amurath, after ſeeing part of his army deſtroyed by the ſudden attacks of Scander-beg, who kept the field, was at laſt obliged to raiſe it. The prince of Albania purſued him in his retreat, and cut to pieces the beſt part of his rear. Amurath fretting at the ill ſucceſs of the campaign, and worn out with the infirmities of old age, fell ſick. He was carried to Adrianople, where he ended his days, after a lingering illneſs of five or ſix months. This ſultan was regretted by his ſubjects, and even by the Chriſtians, eſpecially when they came to compare his reign and his conduct with that of his ſucceſſor; a young prince, and one of the greateſt conquerors indeed that Europe and Aſia ever ſaw, but at the ſame time of a cruel, perfidious, and bloody nature, and whoſe actions revived the hateful remembrance of the moſt inhuman tyrants.

THE neceſſary connection of his hiſtory with that which I write, and the bloody wars that he made upon the order of St. John, oblige me to give a more particular account of one of its greateſt enemies. He was a young prince, hardly 21 years old, whom nature and fortune conſpired, in conjunction with an extraordinary valour, to make the terror of the whole world. His ambition was ſtill greater than his birth, and the empire to which he was born. He had very ſuperior thoughts, immenſe views, an admirable genius for diſtributing on proper occaſions the execution of his projects: was always attentive, always preſent to every thing, and never loſt ſight of the diſpoſitions and forces of his enemies: his thirſt after glory and pleaſures was inſatiable, and he abandoned himſelf to thoſe abominable ſenſualities which nature cannot think of without horror: he had no honour, no humanity, no religion; and eſteemed the alcoran as little as he did the goſpel; and according to his principles, there were

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but two divinities that deſerved to be worſhipped by men, fortune and valour.

SUCH was Mahomet II. who affected the title of Al-Biuch, or Mahomet the Great, betimes; a title which poſterity has continued to him. He was worthy of it, if we judge of him only by his conqueſts; but in monarchs there are virtues which ought to take place of valour, and a prince cannot be truly great without piety and juſtice; virtues which Mahomet had no notion of, or at leaſt thought the practice of them fit only for private men.

YET no ſooner was the death of Amurath, and the advancement of Mahomet II. upon the Ottoman throne made public, but the embaſſadors of the emperors of Conſtantinople and Trebizond, and moſt of the Grecian and eaſtern princes, crowded to the porte. The grand maſter ſent brother Peter Zinot thither in the name of the order. All theſe miniſters, after making the uſual compliments upon theſe occaſions, preſſed for a confirmation of the old alliances made between the princes their maſters and the Ottoman houſe. Mahomet, whether dazzled with the charms of abſolute power, or that he had a mind to lull the embaſſadors into a ſecurity, received them all with an affected ſatisfaction, and readily renewed the treaties which they deſired to have confirmed. But as the conqueſt of Conſtantinople was the firſt aim of his ambition, he employed all the next year in making ſecretly the neceſſary preparations for ſo great an enterprize, and in ſecuring all the avenues that led to that capital of the eaſt, to prevent the throwing in of any ſuccours that the Greek emperor might obtain, either on the land ſide, or by the way of Pontus Euxinus, or the Black Sea.

IN this view he cauſed a fort to be erected on the European ſide of the Boſphorus. The emperor Conſtantine, alarmed at this ſtep, diſpatched embaſſadors to him, to complain of it as an infraction of the treaties of peace ſo lately renewed between them. Mahomet anſwered them at firſt with a ſeeming moderation, that

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he had only raiſed that fort to oppoſe the incurſions of the knights of Rhodes, who were as much enemies to the Greeks as to the Turks; and to ſecure, as he ſaid, the ſubjects of both empires againſt the inroads of the Latins. But the embaſſadors offering to inſiſt on the fidelity with which the order obſerved its treaties, Mahomet tranſported by the violence of his temper, ordered them to hold their tongue, and ſwore, "That "the firſt that ſhould dare to ſpeak a word to him "more on that ſubject, he would cauſe him to be "flay'd alive."

AFTER this declaration, and without keeping meaſures, he ordered his troops to advance and inveſt the capital of the Greek empire; and they began to form one of the moſt remarkable ſieges mentioned in all the hiſtory of the lower empire.

THE ſultan arrived in the camp on the ſecond of April: they ſay, that there were at leaſt 300,000 men in his army, without reckoning a large fleet conſiſting of 250 veſſels of different bulk, which had 24,000 men on board. All the force that they could muſter up in Conſtantinople to oppoſe ſuch formidable forces, hardly amounted to 6000 Greeks under arms, and about 3000 men, conſiſting of foreign troops and volunteers, which may well appear ſurprizing, conſidering the greatneſs of the city, and the prodigious number of its inhabitants. But theſe were none of the old Greeks, ſo renowned in antiquity for their valour, and the love of their country; all their genius was now turned entirely to commerce: Conſtantinople was ſcarce filled with any thing but merchants, without reckoning a large number of calogers and monks, moſt of them cowardly wretches, who, rather than aſſiſt their ſovereign, hoarded their money in private places. So that it is no great wonder if Conſtantine, deſtitute of troops and without ſuccours, could not hold out long againſt the efforts of the infidels. Notwithſtanding all the reſiſtance of the beſieged, the city was taken by ſtorm the forty ſecond day of the ſiege.

The emperor choſe rather to be killed in defending his crown, than to fall alive into the

the hands of the infidels. Perhaps there never was ſeen a more melancholy and moving ſpectacle than what paſſed at the taking of this city. Above forty thouſand men were put to the ſword; and ſixty thouſand ſold for ſlaves: nothing eſcaped the fury and avarice of the ſoldiery.

THE women deteſted the fruitfulneſs which had made them mothers, and lamented bitterly the fate of the young children which they carried in their arms. Here was a numberleſs multitude of young maidens to be ſeen, fearful, and faultering in their pace, who not knowing where to go, wandered about like poor ſtrangers, in the very boſom of their country, and whilſt they were in queſt of their parents, fell into an abyſs of misfortunes, and into the hands of barbarians, from whom they ſuffered a treatment more ſhocking than the moſt cruel executions. Their tears and cries, which reached the heavens, could not move the heart of the inſolent vanquiſher; and the meaneſt of the Turks had an accompliſhed beauty for his prey, though often taken from him by another Turk, either ſtronger than himſelf, or of greater authority in the army. Moſt of theſe Barbarians ſet their priſoners to ſale, but the men of quality, the princes and officers who were taken under arms, were executed by the ſultan's orders; nothing eſcaped his cruelty but the handſomeſt young perſons of both ſexes, whom he reſerved for the abominations of his ſeraglio.

'TWAS thus that a young Greek lady of noble birth, called Irene, hardly ſeventeen years old, fell into his hands. A baſha had juſt made her his ſlave, but being ſtruck with her exquiſite beauty, thought her a preſent worthy of the ſultan. The eaſt had never before given birth to ſo enchanting a creature; her charms were irreſiſtible, and triumphed over the ſavage heart of Mahomet; rough as he was, he was forced to yield; he abandoned himſelf entirely to this new paſſion; and in order to have fewer avocations from his amorous aſſiduities, he paſſed ſeveral days without permitting his miniſters and the principal officers of his army to ſee

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him. Irene followed him afterwards to Adrianople: 'twas here he fixed the reſidence of the young Greek. As for himſelf, on whatever ſide war might oblige him to go, he would often, in the midſt of the moſt important expeditions, leave the conduct of them to his generals, and hurry away to return to Irene. It was not long before it was viſible that war was no longer his reigning paſſion; the ſoldiers who were enured to plunder, and uſed to find booty in following him, murmured at this change. Theſe murmurs ſpread and became epidemical; the officers as well as the ſoldiers complained of his effeminate life; yet his wrath was ſo terrible, that no body durſt undertake to ſpeak to him on that ſubject. At laſt, as the diſcontents of the ſoldiery were juſt going to break out, Muſtapha baſha, having regard only to the fidelity which he owed his maſter, was the firſt that gave him notice of the diſcourſes which the janizaries held publicly to the prejudice of his glory.

THE ſultan continued for ſome time in a ſullen and deep ſilence, as if he was conſidering in himſelf what reſolution he ſhould take; the only anſwer he gave him, and under pretence of a review, he ordered Muſtapha to ſummon the baſha's to aſſemble the next day, with all his guards, and the troops that were poſted about the city; after which he went into the apartment of Irene, and ſtayed with her till the next day.

NEVER did that young princeſs appear ſo charming in his eyes; never too had the prince given her ſuch tender marks of his love before: and in order, if poſſible, to beſtow a new luſtre on her beauty, he delired her women to exert all their art and skill in dreſſing her. When ſhe was thus ſet out and adjuſted to appear in public, he took her by the hand, and led her into the middle of the aſſembly, when throwing aſide the veil which covered her face, he demanded haughtily of the baſha's that ſtood round him, if they had ever ſeen a more finiſhed beauty? All the officers like good courtiers, were laviſh of their praiſes,

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and congratulated him on his happineſs. Upon which, Mahomet taking the fair Greek by the hair with one hand, and drawing his ſcymitar with the other, he cut off her head at one ſtroke, and turning himſelf about to the grandees of the court, "This ſword, ſays he to them, with a wild and furious air, can, when I "pleaſe, cut aſunder the bonds of love."

THE whole aſſembly was ſeized with horror, and ſhuddered at the ſight: the dread they were all ſeized with, of being treated in the like manner, made the moſt mutinous of them tremble: every one thought he ſaw the fatal ſcymetar lifted over his own head; but if they eſcaped his blood-thirſty temper at that moment, it was only to execute his vengeance the better. Muſtapha, as a reward of his faithful advice, was firſt ſacrificed, and that on a ſlight pretence; he cauſed him to be ſtrangled in the ſeraglio; and in the long wars in which he was afterwards engaged, and which laſted as long as his reign, he had the cruel pleaſure of diſpatching moſt of the janizaries one after another, who, by their ſeditious cries, had interrupted his pleaſures, and awaked his fury.

THIS prince had ſcarce been above ſix months in poſſeſſion of Conſtantinople, when, imagining that all the princes of Aſia ought to ſubmit to his power, he began with the knights of Rhodes; his demands upon them ſufficiently declaring his pretenſions. He ſent an embaſſador, or rather an herald, to the grand maſter, ſummoning him to own him for his ſovereign, and ſend into his treaſury an yearly tribute of 2000 ducats. Upon his refuſal, the embaſſador had orders to denounce war againſt him, and declare that the ſultan his maſter was reſolved in perſon to fall upon all the iſles of the order with his invincible forces.

THE grand maſter, after adviſing with the council, anſwered him, that his order was compoſed of a body of military-religious, who, as ſuch, depended by their profeſſion on the ſovereign pontiff of the Chriſtians; that their anceſtors had, by their valour, and at the expence of their blood, ſince made a conqueſt of Rhodes

and the neighbouring iſlands, the ſovereignty of which no prince as yet had diſputed with them; that at the time of his election to the grand maſterſhip, this ſovereignty was put as it were in truſt into his hands; that he was accountable for it to his brothers and their ſucceſſors, and that he would ſacrifice his life with pleaſure rather than do the leaſt thing to prejudice the independency and liberty of the order.

THIS wiſe grand maſter and his council not doubting but ſo reſolute an anſwer would ſoon be attended by the ſultan's invaſion of their territories, applied to the princes of Chriſtendom, though they took this ſtep rather with a view of having nothing wherewith they might reproach themſelves, than out of any hopes of a ſpeedy and effectual ſuccour. The commander d'Aubuſſon, of the language of Auvergne, and deſcended from one of the moſt noble and ancient houſes of la Marche, was appointed embaſſador to Charles VII. who was then upon the throne of France. The grand maſter knowing his zeal for the order, made choice of him for that commiſſion, and it proved the laſt action of his maſterſhip. He died in a very old age, after having governed Rhodes in difficult and tempeſtuous times with equal prudence and reſolution.

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DISCOURSE

UPON THE

ALCORAN,

DELIVERED IN THE

ACADEMY of INSCRIPTIONS,

At the opening of it, on *Tueſday* the 14th of *November* 1724, by M. DE VERTOT.

OF all the ſciences in which mankind employ their time, there is not any one more agreeable, or more uſeful than the knowledge of hiſtory. What ſatisfaction muſt it be to a reader to behold the ſucceſſion of all ages; the revolutions of the greateſt empires, legiſlators and conquerors; the authors of different religions, another kind of conquerors; in a word, all thoſe famous men, who, by their valour, or learning and talents, ſeemed to have undertaken to change the whole face of the univerſe, paſſing along before his eyes, and as it were on a great theatre?

BUT time, in ſpite of all their manifeſto's, of all the colours which thoſe vain and ambitious men, or their partiſans have employed to diſguiſe their projects, has nevertheleſs taken off the varniſh, and diſcovered truth in all its native ſimplicity: Hiſtory, free from the prejudices of party, penetrates into the moſt ſecret motives: we there ſee, that an unjuſt deſire of uſurpation in ſome; an exceſſive thirſt after riches or pleaſures in others; ſometimes a paſſion rooted in vanity in the

learned, and the hopes of making their names famous in the world, have, generally ſpeaking, been the ſecret ſprings that have given motion to all their undertakings; and 'tis from the generality of theſe great examples, which ſerve inſtead of an anticipated experience, that we may learn, that all unjuſt enterprizes, though never ſo ſucceſsful, and that all upſtart and erroneous opinions, become at laſt the contempt of all ſucceeding ages, and that truth alone deſerves to be celebrated in all countries, and by all hiſtorians.

HOWEVER, before we pin our faith entirely on the credit of theſe writers, it is very fit that we examine their works by the rules of ſound criticiſm, a kind of torch, which, like a faithful guide, conducts us through all the obſcure and gloomy paths of antiquity, and helps us to diſtinguiſh truth from falſhood, the noble ſimplicity of hiſtory from the marvellous which we meet with in fiction, and all thoſe vain ornaments with which illuſion and error are deck'd.

IN order, therefore, to be aſſured of the truth of facts related by hiſtorians, eſpecially in the moſt ancient, we muſt carefully examine the text of their works, to ſee if it has not ſuffered by interpolations, the different readings of manuſcripts, the uniformity or difference of the ſtyle, the country in which an author was born, the age in which he lived, and the order which he has obſerved in chronology. 'Tis well known, that the changing of a date, and placing it either earlier or later, is enough to alter the very nature of facts, or at leaſt the conſequences that may be drawn from them: In a word, we ought to inform ourſelves of the name, the religion, and morals of a writer. And though he ſhould be anonymous, or appear under a fictitious name, yet the generality of theſe authors diſcover themſelves in their works, and ſome ſtrokes always drop from their pen, that lay them open, and repreſent their characters more faithfully than all the criticiſms and apologies that have been written either for or againſt their works, could have done.

'TIS

'TIS by the aſſiſtance of theſe various rules of criticiſm, that I propoſe to examine who is the real author of the Alcoran; the motives which might probably have determined him to publiſh it; whether it were the effect of inſpiration, or the work of a ſingle perſon aſſiſted by ſeveral learned men; in ſhort, the different fate this book has met with, and whether it has not in the ſucceſſion of ages undergone ſeveral variations, and changed its principles and maxims more than once.

THERE are three different opinions, with regard to the author of the Alcoran: Mahomet and his followers aſcribe it to God alone; ſome chriſtian writers are for fathering it upon the prince of darkneſs, transformed into an angel of light, and aſſuming the name of Gabriel; others pretend, that this book, which is made up of different paſſages of the Old and New teſtament, was compiled by Mahomet, with the aſſiſtance of a Rabbin, and ſeveral Chriſtians of different ſects: This is the opinion which I am to examine.

THE firſt ſyllable of the word Alcoran is only an article[a], and we may as well ſay, The Coran, an Arabic word, which ſignifies Reading or Writing[b]. There is no one but knows, that it is a book which contains the religion of the Muſulmen, and that it is held in the ſame veneration with them as the Holy Scriptures with Chriſtians. The Turks likeways give this book the title of El Forcan, i. e. which diſtinguiſhes good from evil; 'tis a feigned conference which Mahomet had with God and the angels, from whom he pretends to have received his law. Ali, Mahomet's couſin-german, and ſon-in-law, in order to inhance the merit of this divine book, gave out, that the faithful found therein the hiſtory of former ages, laws for the conduct of this life, and infallible predictions with regard to futurity. Their preachers take it into the pulpits with them; they hold it open, and read every now and then out of it ſome verſe by way of text. Their poſitive and ſchool divinity is founded only on ſome paſſa-

[a] See Maracci, page 33.

[b] The book to be read, or the legend. Prideaux.

ges of the Alcoran, which ſupplies them likeways with prayers, and their prieſts read a chapter out of it every day in their moſques.

THIS wonderful book did not appear in the world till about the beginning of the ſeventh century. But ſuch as believe in it, maintain, from the ninety-ſeventh chapter of that work, that it is as old as the creation of the world; that the original of this book was once a part of the great book of the eternal decrees; that it was depoſited in the heaven of the moon, and that it was brought from thence at the time appointed by providence, by the angel Gabriel to Mahomet, who could neither write nor read[a].

ONE would readily believe, that it would have been ſcarce poſſible to have carried fiction to a greater length. Nevertheleſs, ſome divines, called Sonnites, whom the infidels look upon as the only orthodox, have improved this fabulous original with new idle fancies, and maintained publickly, that the Alcoran was increated, eternal, and made part of the divine eſſence, *Si quis dixerit Alcoranum eſſe creatum, eſt infidelis*[b], as the Latin tranſlator of the Arabick Algazel has rendered it. But this opinion was afterwards attacked under the reigns of the Abaſſidian Caliphs, by other Muſulmen divines, called Mortazales, who, in anſwer to this anathema, pronounced another drawn up almoſt in the ſame terms, *infidelis eſt qui dicit Alcoranum eſſe æternum ſeu increatum.* This diſpute gave riſe to a great ſchiſm, and was the occaſion of civil wars, in which great numbers of both parties loſt their lives.

THE only point in which they agreed, was, that this book, whether created or eternal, as it deſcended from the throne of God, and was filled with his ſpirit, it merited the reſpect and veneration of all men. And we actually ſee to this day an advertiſement prefixed to moſt of the copies of it, in theſe words, Let none but the

[a] Laus Deo, ait Mahmud, filius Omar, qui deſcendit è cœlo Alcoranum. Maracci, p. 34.

[b] Algazel in profeſſione fidei Mahumedicæ profitetur Alcoranum eſſe æternum, ſubſiſtentem eſſentiâ Dei. Vide Maracci p. 44.

the pure preſume to touch this book, for it is a preſent come down from heaven, and ſent from the king of ages: *ne attingant eum niſi purificati.*

'TIS plain from hence, that men, in the opinion of the Mahometans, are expreſsly excluded from having been the authors of this new law: Mahomet, depending upon the excellency of the work, gave out, that neither devils nor men, though they ſhould unite all their talents, would be able to compoſe any thing that could come near the perfection of the Alcoran: *Si ſimul congregarentur homines et dæmones, ut facerent aliquid ſimile huic Alcorano, nunquam id efficere poſſint, etiamſi mutuò ſeſe ad hoc adjuvarent. Sura* 17.

THE generality of chriſtian writers, on the contrary, pretend, that the devil is the real author of Mahometaniſm, and that he only made uſe of Mahomet, as an inſtrument, to found a falſe religion upon the ruins of Chriſtianity. 'Twas the devil, if they are to be believed, who appeared to Mahomet under the name and ſhape of the angel Gabriel, or, if you pleaſe, under the ſhape of a pigeon, which Mahomet had taught to peck in his ear; a proof that this falſe prophet was an impoſtor, who only made uſe of religion as a means to aggrandize himſelf. His deſign was to unite all the various religions of Arabia into one body, and to make ſo many ſubjects of his proſelytes. There were in his time three religions in Arabia, viz. Idolaters, Jews and Chriſtians; and the laſt were divided into Catholics and Schiſmatics. Chriſtianity had been eſtabliſhed in Arabia Felix ever ſince the emperor Juſtinus, and this church was ſubordinate to the juriſdiction of the patriarch of Alexandria, as well as that of the Abyſſines.

ARABIA Petræa, from Paleſtine to the gulph of Ayala, and all the reſt of the coaſt, as far as the borders of Egypt, was ſubject to the Romaſ empire, as was alſo Arabia Deſerta, or at leaſt that part of it which is adjoining to Syria and Paleſtine, whereof Boſtra was at that time the metropolis. 'Tis pretended, that the emperor Philip was born in that city, which anciently

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was no more than a caſtle built by ſome Arabian prince. The emperor Severus made it a city, and ſettled a colony there: A council was held at Boſtra, on occaſion of Bercellus its biſhop's being infected with the hereſy of thoſe who denied the incarnation of the Word. This was about A. D. 249.

MOST of the inhabitants of the three Arabias were idolaters, and pretended to be all deſcended from Kedar, ſon of Iſhmael. The learned Levinus Warnerus, in his treatiſe of the manners of the Arabians, before Mahometaniſm prevailed in their country, aſſerts, that the Koriſians or Koraſhites, the moſt noble tribe of that great peninſula, had preſerved themſelves from idolatry; that they had conſtantly uſed circumciſion ever ſince Iſhmael's time; that they were frequent in prayer, were very bountiful in their alms, and that the moſt devout among them never drank wine. The city of Mecca, with regard to religion, was conſidered as the metropolis of the pagan Arabians. Shoals of pilgrims came thither from all the provinces, to viſit an old temple called the Caaba, which, according to a received tradition, they believed to be built by Abraham. They undertook theſe pious pilgrimages in commemoration of that patriarch's journeys, and ſacrificed the firſt-born of a camel upon the neighbouring mountains of Mecca. This perhaps might have been the moſt eſſential part of their worſhip, and they had at beſt but a very confuſed notion of the God of Abraham. There is in the wall of Caaba a black ſtone, which the Mahometans tell us, was brought milk white from heaven by the angel Gabriel at the beginning of the world, but that it has been ſince blackened by the ſins of men. The Turks in their pilgrimages pay a very ſuperſtitious veneration to this myſterious ſtone. But we muſt not fancy that Mahomet invented theſe ceremonies; they had been uſed ſo long before his time among the Arabians, that it would have been impoſſible for that impoſtor ever to have rooted out this piece of ſuperſtition from among them, though he ſhould have formed a deſign of doing it.

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THE idolatrous Arabians acknowledged indeed a firſt being, the only and ſovereign creator of all things; but then they made him, as it were, a ſupine deity without providence; and in their neceſſities they addreſſed themſelves to ſome ſubaltern genii, and to a kind of goddeſſes: Such were Allath, Menach and Aluzza, whom theſe modern Iſhmaelites adored as the daughters of the great God.

SOME Arabians[a], who were ſubjects of Perſia, followed the religion of that country, and worſhipped the fire. There were likeways other kinds of idolaters called Sabians, (which we muſt take care not to confound with the ancient Sabéans) and theſe adored certain genii, which they placed in the planets and ſtars. The worſhip of ſome went no farther than the ſtars which they adored; and others, who were ſtill more ſtupid, directed all their devotion to certain images which repreſented the ſeveral attributes of thoſe ſtars: and the Caaba, or great temple, was by degrees crowded with a multitude of idols, of which Mahomet afterwards cleared it.

AS for the Jews, after the emperors Titus and Adrian had drove them out of Jeruſalem, a great number of that miſerable people had taken refuge in Arabia, a country that is contiguous to Paleſtine, where they multiplied conſiderably; but the generality of them paid greater deference to the ridiculous fancies of their rabbins and talmudiſts, than to the law of Moſes, and the ſacred text of the bible.

THE chriſtian Arabs followed the Greek rite, of whom very few were Catholicks, the greateſt part of them having turned Eutychians or Jacobites; nor were there wanting among them ſome ancient ſectaries of the doctrine of Ebion and Cerinthus, two arch-heretics who lived in the firſt century of the church, and were cotemporaries with the apoſtle St. John.

THERE were likeways ſome Arians, ſome Neſtorians and Copti, a ſort of Eutychians: but excluſive of the exterior worſhip of thoſe different religions, a corruption

[a] Pocokii Specim. Arabic. p. 53.

ruption that was almoſt univerſal, and an ignorance equal to it, prevailed among the Arabians of all denominations, and the Jew was ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed from the Chriſtian by any other mark but circumciſion and baptiſm.

IF we enquire into the civil government of Arabia, we ſhall find, that beſides certain countries, which held either under the Greek empire, or that of Perſia, Arabia had formerly enjoyed its particular ſovereigns. Pocock, in his notes upon Abul-Faragius, an Arabian author, and of the ſect of the Jacobites, has given us the names of theſe princes, but neither tells us the ſeat of their dominion, nor how long they reigned. And in the ſeventh century, in Mahomet's time, we meet with no other ſovereigns in Arabia Petræa, either in Mecca, or Medina, the two principal cities of that province, but the chiefs of each tribe, who were at the ſame time the generals and magiſtrates of thoſe little republicks.

THIS multitude of chiefs, all independent on one another, and the great diverſity in worſhip and religion, made Mahomet think it a favourable juncture for putting his deſigns in execution. The character that Elmacin hath drawn of him, may be ſeen in the beginning of this work[a], but his conduct will paint it ſtill better. He was a man who thirſted after empire, and was greedy of pleaſures; of a ſuperior genius; and who, either by his education or reflexion, ſaw through all the ridiculous foppery of that multitude of deities which the people had ſet up. Had he not been vain enough to pretend his holding an intimate correſpondence with God, by the miniſtry of the angel Gabriel, the magiſtrates had never driven him out of Mecca: but as he was for acting an extraordinary part, and had neither a miſſion nor miracles to authorize it, he was at laſt obliged to ſupply the force he wanted in argument by that of arms, to eſtabliſh his ſyſtem ſword in hand, and to found it on a revelation, of which he himſelf was the miniſter and the herald.

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[a] Page 6. vol. I.

IN order therefore to ſucceed in his ſcheme[a], he aſſociated with himſelf a learned Jew, born in Perſia, a rabbin in his ſect, whom Elmacin calls by the name of Salman. But the greateſt aſſiſtance he received was from a Neſtorian monk, called by the weſtern hiſtorians Sergius, and by the caſtern Bahira, an apoſtate, who had been expelled his monaſtery for his diſorderly life. Such were the architects whom Mahomet employed for erecting the new ſyſtem he projected. The Jew furniſhed him with various hiſtories from the Old Teſtament, blended with the chimeras and dreams of the Talmud, which Mahomet, in order to heighten the marvellous, pieced out with ſome fabulous circumſtances of his own invention, which are ſtill to be ſeen in the Alcoran. The Neſtorian monk, at the ſame time, brought him acquainted with the new teſtament, and the diſcipline of the church: All this he changed and corrupted with fables, which he borrowed from pſeudo-goſpels and apocryphal books; and 'tis manifeſt from the Alcoran, that he was not unacquainted with the hiſtory of the infancy of Jeſus, and the family of the virgin Mary.

BUT whatever were the names of thoſe Jews and Chriſtians who aſſiſted Mahomet in the forging of his Alcoran, 'tis certain, that as this book contains ſo many particularities of the Old and New Teſtament, Mahomet, who was born and bred a Pagan, and had lived in idolatry till he was forty years old, and who, moreover, was ſo illiterate, that he could neither write nor read, muſt neceſſarily have been directed in the compoſition of the Alcoran, by ſome Jew and by ſome Chriſtian, both of them learned in their religion, and who, upon the plan which he had formed, ſupplied him with that infinite number of hiſtorical facts and paſſages which are ſcattered up and down that work.

BEING ſoon after ſupported by ſome diſciples, he no longer makes a ſecret of his doctrine, but ſets up publickly for a preacher; he tenders the Alcoran to the people

[a] Abdias Benſalon. Cantat. Orat. 1. contra Mahometam. tract. Fr. Ric. c. 6 & 13. Theoph. Zonatas fortalitium fidei. l. 4.

people as a divine book, which had been brought him from heaven; and though he was wholly illiterate, as was before obſerved, he yet recommends himſelf, and is followed for the purity of his language, for the turn and loftineſs of his expreſſions, and for the care he took to imitate in the Alcoran, ſometimes the ſublime ſtyle of the beginning of Geneſis, and ſometimes the *pathos* of the prophets of the Old Teſtament.

IF Moſes relates that God ſaid, Let there be light, and there was light; let the earth be made, and the earth was made; Expreſſions which a heathen philoſopher, Longinus by name, had propoſed as a model of the ſublime, and which give ſo fine a deſcription of the power of the creator, and the obedience of the creature; Mahomet, in imitation of the Jewiſh legiſlator, ſpeaking, in the chapter Houd, of the aſſwaging of the waters, makes God ſay, Earth, ſwallow up the waters; heaven, take back thoſe which thou haſt ſhowered down. The waters immediately drew back, continues the falſe prophet; the command of God was fulfilled, the ark reſted upon the mountain, and a voice was heard from heaven, ſaying, Wo to the wicked. Such as underſtand Arabick, agree, that Mahomet, as to expreſſion, does not fall very ſhort of the beauty of the original which he endeavoured to imitate, and that his phraſes in particular are well choſen, and happily diſpoſed. Prideaux owns, that the Alcoran, with reſpect to the ſtyle and purity of the language, is the moſt perfect model of any we have of the elegance of the Arabick tongue. That falſe prophet was particularly conſpicuous for brightneſs of thought, and particularly for drawing lively repreſentations and deſcriptions of the rewards and puniſhments of the next life. Of all the various motives that have an influence on the mind of man, he ſcarce made uſe of any but hope and fear.

WHEN he treated of paradiſe[a], as he had to do with people who were ſcorch'd with the burning rays of the ſun, and dwelt under the torrid zone, he repreſented that place of felicity, as a garden watered with fountains

[a] Alc. c. 3, 4, 36, 37, 43, 47, 78.

tains and cooling liquors, and planted with trees that were ever green, and which bore delicious fruits in every ſeaſon. And for the ſatisfaction of ſenſual and voluptuous men, in a country, where, as Ammianus Marcellinus relates, 'tis incredible to think with what greedineſs both men and women abandon themſelves to luſt[a], *Incredibile eſt quo ardore apud eos in venerem uterque ſolvitur ſexus*: Mahomet, to draw them in, promiſes the men, that the kernels of the fruit, they were to eat in paradiſe ſhould be metamorphoſed into ſo many young girls divinely beautiful, and created on purpoſe for their felicity; and withal ſo gentle, ſo complaiſant, and ſo ſweet, that if but a drop of their ſpittle was to fall into the ſea, that alone would be ſufficient to take away all its bitterneſs; and notwithſtanding that they were to repeat frequently the duties of the marriage bed, they yet ſhould remain ever virgins, without being ever mothers.

IF this doctrine flattered ſenſual men[b], ſome old women, on the contrary, fancying their age excluded them from this place of pleaſure, were very much alarmed at it. One of them, as Lamay tells us, in his Lathaif, complained to the prophet about it, who told her for her comfort, that they would all riſe again at the blooming age of fifteen, and in all the perfection of beauty; this was calculated for the ſatisfaction of the old and ugly, and accordingly did not fail to pleaſe.

MAHOMET, as a contraſt to paradiſe, repreſents hell as a burning furnace, eternally covered and ſurrounded with thick clouds, and an hot ſalt iſh ſmoke[c]. As for coolneſs, he makes the damned ſwallow a blackiſh ever-burning liquor, like melted pitch, which was to circulate in their veins; and he allows theſe unhappy wretches no ſhade but from a certain tree which he calls Zacoum, the fruits of which, he told them, reſemble the heads of devils. We may eaſily perceive, notwithſtanding their being ſo clouded with fictions, that the fountains and ſtreams of Mahomet's paradiſe

[a] Alc. l. 14. c. 4. [b] Hotting. hiſt. orient. l. 2. c. 4.
[c] Alc. c. 7, 37, 43, 44, 47, 50, 74, 77, 78, &c.

are borrowed from theſe words of ſcripture, "The elect "ſhall drink of pleaſures as out of a river," *de torrente voluptatis potabis eos:* and as to the young people who were to adminiſter to their pleaſures, all thoſe circumſtances were formed upon the plan of the terreſtial paradiſe which Cerinthus had drawn; who maintained, that after the general reſurrection, Jeſus Chriſt ſhould reign on earth at Jeruſalem in Paleſtine; that men ſhould then have a full enjoyment of all the pleaſures of which they ſhould have deprived themſelves during their lifetime, and that their wedding day ſhould laſt a thouſand years.

IF we conſult the bare text of the Alcoran, and take it in a literal ſenſe, nothing can poſſibly be more groſs than theſe promiſes, which tend only to the gratification of the ſenſes. And indeed Mahomet perceiving, that this kind of felicity would not ſatisfy men of underſtanding, he, in order to pleaſe them, as well as the reſt, adds, in the chapter entituled Jonas, that in theſe delightful gardens, the bleſſed ſhould be inceſſantly repeating theſe words, "Thou art holy, O "Lord our God, and eternal; praiſe be to the Lord "of all creatures." And the Scheic Alalem cries out, "Paradiſe, O Lord, is deſirable only becauſe it gives "us a ſight of thee; for without the ſplendor of thy "beauty, it would be irkſome to us:" which affords room to imagine, that theſe different deſcriptions of the ſenſual pleaſures and corporeal pains of another life, were but ſo many allegories with which Mahomet heightened his diſcourſes; a figure very frequently uſed by the eaſterns, and which upon that account, is not always to be taken in a literal ſenſe, according to ſome doctors of that ſect, who made a witty and devout Muſulman ſay, "O thou who inviteſt me to enjoy the "delights of paradiſe, 'tis not paradiſe that I ſeek, but "only the face of him who created paradiſe."

WHATEVER care Mahomet might take to adapt the plan of his paradiſe to the different taſte of mankind, an undertaking of no little difficulty: and, moreover, as he was ſenſible, that every thing relating to religion,

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which bears the character of novelty, is juſtly ſuſpected, he declares in the Alcorán, that he does not ſo much pretend to preach a new law, as to revive that which God had given to Adam and the firſt men, and which was afterwards tranſmitted to Noah and his deſcendants, down to Abraham and Iſhmael their anceſtors: a law, ſays he, more antient that either that of the Jews, or of the Chriſtians. He adds, that this law, notwithſtanding its being drawn up by a divine hand, had been changed and corrupted by the ſucceſſors of patriarchs, who had baniſhed the worſhip of the true God, and introduced in its ſtead that of images and idols, which they made the object of their religion; that God, in order to bring mankind back into the paths of truth, had at firſt ſent them a great prophet called Moſes, who had given them a new law in his name, and authoriſed his miſſion by the moſt illuſtrious miracles; but that the people of Iſrael, to whom he was ſent, had, in proceſs of time, preferred human traditions before this holy law, and that that nation had relapſed ſeveral times into idolatry.

THAT the ſovereign creator of mankind had, at the time fixed by his eternal decrees, raiſed up a ſecond prophet greater than Moſes, called JESUS, the ſon of Mary, conceived, as he ſaid, by the breath of God, without a father, in the ſame manner as Adam, and born of a mother who had always been a virgin: But notwithſtanding this new prophet publiſhed a law that breathed nothing but goodneſs and charity, and had wrought ſurpriſing miracles in the face of all Judea, in order to make it be received; nevertheleſs, his miſſion, in ſpite of all his miracles, had had no better ſucceſs than that of Moſes: that the prieſts and phariſees had determined to put him to death, but that God, in the moment of his paſſion and execution, had ſnatched him from the fury of his enemies, and taken him up into heaven; another fable, which he had borrowed partly from the notions of Cerinthus, Mahomet adds, that the Chriſtians, after his aſcenſion, had adulterated his law to ſuch a degree, that it was deſtroyed in a

manner by falſe interpretations, and was no longer genuine. That, in fine, God had ſent him as his laſt prophet, and greater than either Moſes or Jeſus, to purge religion of all the fables which men had introduced into it under the notion of traditions and myſteries, and to unite them all in the ſame belief, and in the obſervance of the ſame law; of which, he ſaid, he was no more than a miniſter, and the bearer of the orders of heaven.

'TWAS from theſe different principles that this artful impoſtor framed his ſyſtem. The Jew had furniſhed him with that of the exiſtence of one only God[a]; but without a multiplication of perſons: he forbids expreſsly in the Alcoran, the aſcribing either ſon or daughters to God; and by this prohibition, he excludes the three pretended goddeſſes of the idolatrous Arabs, and deſtroys at the ſame time the myſtery of the trinity, and the merit of the paſſion of our Saviour Chriſt.

ONE would think he had taken the firſt principle of this unity of God from the words of Deuteronomy, where it is ſaid, "Hear, O Iſrael, our God is one," the ſenſe of which he has altered by theſe Arabick words, *la illaah, illalaah*, there is no other God but God; and in order to recommend his own miſſion at the ſame time, he adds, in the ſame language, *ou Mahammed reſoûl*, and Mahomet is the meſſenger of God: Other words which are manifeſtly copied from thoſe we read in St. John's goſpel, "This is life eternal, to know thee "the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt, whom thou haſt "ſent," *et quem miſiſti filium*. Mahomet, in order to draw in both Jews as well as Chriſtians, borrowed facts and paſſages indifferently from the Old and New Teſtament.

'TWAS out of complaiſance for his countrymen in general, and for the Arabian Jews in particular, that he retained

[a] Do you never conſider that God is one, and has no poſterity? --Bleſſed be God who has no other ſon, or daughters than thoſe good ſouls who worſhip him, and keep his commandments. Alc. c. 37. towards the end.

retained the uſe of circumciſion, tho' there is not any mention made of it in the Alcoran; but that rite had been eſtabliſhed for ſeveral ages among the greateſt part of the Arabians without diſtinction.

ORIGEN, who was at no great diſtance from Arabia, relates, that all the Iſhmaelites who inhabit that country, get themſelves circumciſed when they come to be thirteen years old. St. Jerom[a] confirms the ſame circumſtance in his commentary upon Jeremiah. The greateſt part, ſays he, of thoſe people who inhabit round about Paleſtine, obſerve circumciſion, but chiefly the Egyptians, the Edomites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, and all the country of the Saracens, who dwell in the deſerts i. e. in the deſerts of Arabia: Whence we may preſume, that religion was not the only motive for the eſtabliſhing of this cuſtom.

NEVERTHELESS, it is probable enough, that Mahomet recommended circumciſion and abſtinence from ſwines fleſh, and things ſtrangled, merely out of complaiſance to the Jews, whom he had a mind to bring over to his ſect; but ſome doctors of his religion have ſince aſſerted, that the only reaſon of his taking in circumciſion was in order to enſure a better obſervance of the precept of cleanlineſs, which forbids the letting any urine fall on that part of the skin, which for that reaſon they cut off.

As for the uſe of wine, Mahomet, in all probability forbid it only to heighten the perfection of his new law: perhaps too he was willing that his diſciples ſhould agree in that point with the Rechabites[b] and Nazarites of the old law, who never drank any intoxicating liquors. Others pretend, that the ſole motive of his prohibiting the uſe of wine, was in order to prevent thoſe quarrels which frequently ariſe in the midſt of good fellowſhip; not to mention, that in ſo hot a country as Arabia, water and cooling liquors were perhaps more agreeable than wine. But I very much queſtion whether this article of Mahomet's law would have

[a] Philocalia, c. 23. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 103. chap. 10.

[b] Jerem. c. 35.

done him any ſervice, had he begun his miſſion with the people of the north. "Abſtain, ſays this lawgiver to his diſciples, from wine, from playing at "games of chance and cheſs: theſe are inventions of "the devil, to ſow hatred and diviſion among them, "to eſtrange them from prayer, and hinder them "from calling upon the name of God."

FROM the Chriſtians Mahomet borrowed the frequent uſe of prayer, which he fixed at five times every day, the practice of a Lent-faſt, and the payment of the tithe of one's poſſeſſions; this, however, he ordered to be applied for the relief of the poor.

THOUGH he had ſeverely condemned all manner of worſhip that was not immediately directed to the one only God, nevertheleſs, that he might not wholly alienate the affections of the people of Mecca, and in order to engage them by motives of ſelf-intereſt, he made a particular precept, enjoining all ſuch perſons as had ſubſtance and ſtrength ſufficient for the journey, to go on a pilgrimage to the great temple of Mecca, after it ſhould be cleared of idols: and he made this injunction, becauſe the great reſort of pilgrims brought great ſums of money into a country whoſe ſoil was barren. He next allowed, in favour of the Heathens, of a miſtaken kind of predeſtination, not unlike what the ancients called fate, and taught, that if the fatal moment of a man's death was not come, he would be as ſafe in the midſt of a thouſand naked ſwords pointed againſt him, as if he was alone in his own houſe and in bed: A principle which was afterwards of great advantage [illegible] their wars; and in ſpite of the fear [illegible]ally inſpires, we have frequently [illegible]ers ruſh chearfully upon the ſwords [illegible] a notion that they had nothing [illegible]caſion, if they were not predeſti- "'Tis impoſſible, ſays Mahomet [illegible]ram, for a perſon to die at any [illegible]t which is fixed and determined [illegible]ecrees of God."

THIS

THIS artful mixture of various religions, and in which every one fancied he diſcovered ſome traces of his firſt belief, impoſed upon a great many people; and the inſidious impoſtor, in order to eſtabliſh his errors, borrowed from both Jews and Chriſtians ſome great truths, and in ſome inſtances the practice of great virtues.

As our divine Saviour has expreſsly recommended to us the doing good to thoſe that perſecute us, Mahomet, to imitate him, at the end of the chapter Aaraf expreſſes himſelf thus, "Do good to all;" and the author of Keſchef, one of his commentators, relates, that Mahomet, upon receiving this precept from the angel Gabriel, ask'd him the meaning of it, upon which the angel made him this comment: "Court him who "drives you from him; give to him who has taken "from you; pardon him who offends you; for God "will have you ſow the ſeeds of the greateſt virtues "in your ſouls."

THE article wherein he chiefly differed from the purity of the Chriſtian religion, was that of polygamy, and the plurality of wives; but it was already eſtabliſhed among the Jews and idolatrous Arabs; ſo that he allowed his diſciples to marry four lawful wives at the ſame time[a]; and as the legiſlator did not think himſelf obliged to ſubmit to a law of his own making, he married at leaſt fifteen, and, as other ſay, one and twenty wives. 'Twas his favourite paſſion, and he himſelf does not ſcruple to own it; he declares[b], that he was not affected by any kind of pleaſure, but that which aroſe from grateful odours, and the commerce of beautiful women. * *Deus poſuit delectationem meam in ſuavibus odoribus et in mulieribus*; as is related by the learned Maracci, confeſſor to pope Innocent II. the laſt and moſt exact tranſlator of the Alcoran.

HOWEVER, notwithſtanding all the complaiſance Mahomet had for his own inclinations, and for thoſe of his fellow citizens, he yet met with a ſtrong oppoſition from the magiſtrates of Mecca, and the chief men of his tribe. 'Tis plain from the twenty-fifth chapter of

[a] Alc. c. 4. [b] Page 31.

of the Alcoran[a], that they treated him publickly as an impoſtor, and that the generality of the Koraſhites declared aloud, that his book was no more than a texture of fables of his own invention, or forged by the help of other impoſtors; and in the ſixteenth chapter he points out particularly the perſon who was ſuſpected to be the author of it: "I know, ſays he, ſpeaking "of himſelf, 'twill be ſaid, that a certain perſon has "taught me the Alcoran; but he whom they pretend "to be the ſecret author of it, is a Perſian by birth, "and ſpeaks the language of Perſia, whereas the Al- "coran is written in Arabic, and is full of inſtruction "and eloquence." The cunning impoſtor, that his performance might not be aſcribed to another, employed only two foreigners to aſſiſt him in compiling it, the one a Greek, and the other a Perſian, neither of whom ſcarce underſtood Arabic: moreover, 'tis pretended, that he, in order to get rid of a troubleſome witneſs, afterwards got the firſt, who had had the greateſt hand in it, to be privately diſpatched.

WHAT troubled him moſt, was, that the moſt ſenſible part of the inhabitants of Mecca required him to ſhew ſome warrant for his new doctrine[b], and to authoriſe it by miracles, the moſt authentic credentials a prophet can have. Moſes, ſaid they, Jeſus Chriſt, and other prophets, worked, by your own confeſſion, the moſt glorious miracles to prove their miſſion; why then do not you, if you are a prophet, and greater than they, work the like?

MAHOMET, in order to get clear of ſo home an objection, turned and winded on all ſides[c]. One while he told them, that as miracles came from the almighty hand of God, men could not know the time when he had determined to work them; another while he reproached them, that though they ſhould ſee miracles, they yet would not be converted; and at other times he

[a] Alc. c. 15, 37, 81.

[b] Theophanes Zonaras. Ricardi conſtatio Mahom. c. 13. Cantacuzen. orat. 1. contra Mahomet.

[c] Alc. c. 6.

he ſaid that his miſſion extended no farther than to preach to them the word of God, ſuch as he had received it from the angel Gabriel[a], and added, that there could not be a greater miracle than the Alcoran itſelf, which was ſo perfect in all its parts, that it could not poſſibly be the work of the moſt learned men, nor even of the devils themſelves, much leſs could it have been compoſed by an illiterate man like himſelf, who could neither write nor read.

BUT the magiſtrates of Mecca would not take up with ſuch idle reaſons[b], in which the impoſtor was for having the point in queſtion taken for granted, and moreover, ſuſpecting that he had more ambitious deſigns in view, and that he had a mind to uſurp the government of his country, they baniſhed him as a ſeditious perſon, and forced him to leave Mecca.

MAHOMET now ſaw plainly, that he ſhould never be able to execute his ambitious projects by perſuaſion only, and therefore reſolved to have recourſe to arms; and to authoriſe this ſtep, he did not fail, as uſual, to call in heaven to his aſſiſtance. Immediately he gave out among his diſciples[c], that the angel Gabriel had brought him a ſword from almighty God, with orders to ſubdue by the force of arms all ſuch as ſhould refuſe to embrace his doctrine.

HE began this religious war by plundering the caravans; when booty, ſo grateful to the Arabs, ſoon brought great numbers of them under his ſtandard: Being thus reinforced, he ravages the open country, ſurprizes caſtles, takes towns, and after having for ſome time practiſed the trade of robbery, he learned inſenſibly the art of conquering.

We need not ſearch for any other reaſon to account for the ſurpriſing progreſs this ſect made in ſo little time in Arabia; which if Mahomet could but have foreſeen, he would in all probability have ſpared himſelf the trouble of forging ſo many revelations, and fitting

[a] Pocock. ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 191, 192. Alc. c. 9, 10, and 17. Alc. c. 7.

[b] Elmacin, l. 1. c. 1.

[c] Alc. c. 4.

ting together the various pieces he borrowed from the Jewish and Christian religions. 'Tis well known, that he, in less than eleven years time, made himself master of the greatest part of the three Arabias. The success of his arms exceeded his first projects, and fortune carried him to greater lengths than he had even dared to hope. But as his wars, his conquests, and those of his successors, are foreign to my subject, I shall only observe, that he united the priesthood to the empire; that his disciples were his first subjects; that he forced the rest by violence to submit to him; that his arms were the foundation of his new religion, and that he in all probability might have taken them up only in order to establish it with greater dispatch. His successors made use of the same pretext to seize on Asia, Africa, and a part of Europe; and whither would they not have extended their conquests, had not God raised up the intrepid courage of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, to make head against them? those knights, I say, who for several ages have served as a bulwark to all Christendom. The Arabians were the first people of Asia that embraced the religion of Mahomet; some of them, out of fear of his power, others carried away and infected by example, many seduced by the lure of pleasures; nor were there wanting others who were charmed with his eloquence, and certain pathetical expressions which dropped from him in his sermons, or in various places of the Alcoran.

We there indeed meet with noble and lofty expressions upon the majesty, the power, and the goodness of God, as well as on the ingratitude of men; but all his discourses on these subjects are without proofs, without coherence, order, or connection; and one may easily perceive, that what they call the Alcoran, or the book by way of eminence, to speak after the Arabians, is no more than [illegible] sophister and declaimer.

[illegible] k is one continual discourse, and [illegible] me; for we there meet with several [illegible] ations, according

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as its author was actuated by new paſſions, or engaged by new intereſts. In the fourth chapter, any man is expreſsly forbid to marry the wife of another, during the lifetime of the latter; but unluckily Mahomet caſts his eyes upon Zainab, the wife of Zaib, his freed man; he liked her, and in order to have her for himſelf, he beſtowed extraordinary favours upon his late ſlave, that ſo he might engage him to divorce her, which being done, he immediately marries her. This ſcandalous compact between the maſter and his ſervant, highly offended the greateſt part of his followers; but to ſilence their complaints, notwithſtanding it contradicts the law which he himſelf had preached, he publiſhes an addition to the thirty-third chapter of the Alcoran, wherein God declares, that he had married Zainab to Mahomet; a declaration which put that woman, who was not a little proud of the revelation, upon inſulting the reſt of the prophet's wives, and upon claiming a precedency, by virtue of her having been married by an expreſs order from heaven, whereas none but men had been concerned in the marriages of her rivals.

THIS falſe prophet, beſides all thoſe wives, who compoſed his ſeraglio, had likeways in his family a young female ſlave of exquiſite beauty, of about fifteen years of age, called Mary, an Egyptian by birth, and a Chriſtian. We are told, that the governor of Egypt had made a preſent of her to Mahomet. Immediately our prophet falls in love with her, and is catched by two of his wives in a criminal commerce with her. Theſe do not fail to make a great ſtir about it, but as it might prejudice his reputation, heaven comes in immediately to his aſſiſtance, and by a new revelation, which we find in the ſixty-ſixth chapter, God allows Mahomet, and all Muſulmen whatever, to cohabite with their ſlaves, in ſpite of their wives*. "O prophet, for "thus Mahomet makes God ſay, why doſt thou, for "fear of diſobliging thy wives, deny thyſelf the plea"ſure which God has granted thee?" The impious wretch begins with committing the crime, and then war-

* Alc. c. 66. of Prohibition.

warrants it by a [illegible] dispensation from heaven. The only reason [illegible] selecting [illegible] examples from a great number of others, was [illegible] that there are in the Alcoran [illegible] very [illegible] the Mahometans tell [illegible] from [illegible] of Chal, several [illegible] and which are computed [illegible] and fifty. The Mahometans endeavour [illegible] this contradiction, by saying that God having [illegible] proper to abrogate certain articles, was afterwards pleased to substitute others in their stead; but we may observe, that both their passages are not only preserved in the text, but that that article which is substituted is often placed before the other which was to be disannulled; which occasions a [illegible] confusion, unless they [illegible] the [illegible] for this transposition, should tell us, that [illegible] owing to the Alcoran's [illegible] written upon loose leaves, which antiently were never stitched together in order, but rolled upon one another, which for that reason, might occasion the transposition of several chapters.

After Mahomet's death, Abu-Beker his father-in-law and successor, collected these loose leaves together, put them into what he thought a proper order, and after consulting such of Mahomet's disciples as had attended with greatest assiduity upon his discourses, he made a collection of them, which he afterwards left in the custody of Haphsa, daughter to Omar, and one of the surviving wives of that prophet.

Yet notwithstanding this precaution, several copies of this book were spread up and down the provinces, very different from one another. The people of Hyerak Araby, which is the antient Chaldæa, together with the Syrians maintained, that their copies, though contradictory to one another in several passages, were [illegible] than the authentic ones. [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible], the third [illegible] to Mahomet, to [illegible] of [illegible], if we may give [illegible] book [illegible] himself had compiled [illegible] he had [illegible] and rased

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whatever he thought proper, and this upon the information of persons, who boasted their having retained, by strength of memory, most of the passages of the Alcoran from Mahomet's discourses. Othman, however, caused several copies to be made of it, and distributed them up and down the Mahometan provinces, and ordered all the other copies which fell into his hands to be burnt as spurious.

AND yet, notwithstanding that the Alcoran was revised in this manner, and though it has passed through so many hands, in order to its being corrected, there were nevertheless whole nations who could not be prevailed with to receive some surats or chapters in it as canonical, which they suspected were no more than so many interpolations of the revisers. The Persians, the Indians, the inhabitants of the coast of Coromandel, and the other followers of Ali, reject several verses as apocryphal, which the Turks receive as canonical; for which reason they have given them the name of Schittes; whereas the Turks, the inhabitants of Mogul, the Arabians, and the Africans, who follow the doctrine or comment of Abu-Beker, and look upon themselves as the only orthodox, take upon themselves the name of Sonnites. But abating this, all of these have so profound a veneration for this book, that it falls very short of idolatry. Some of them ever carry several verses, and sometimes whole chapters of it about them, as an infallible preservative against all the accidents of life; and their princes and great men engain the cover of their Alcoran with pearls and diamonds.

TAVERNIER relates in his voyages[a], that the great Mogul sent in his time a copy of it to Mecca, the cover of which was valued at twelve hundred thousand livres, and that there was in the middle of it a diamond, which alone weighed a hundred and three carats. Such is the veneration the infidels have for this book, though stuffed with fictions; so true is it, that falsehood, when dressed with an air of something marvellous, is very apt to allure the minds of men; at the

[a] Tom. VI.

ſame time that we neglect the reading of our holy books, the ſacred depoſitory of revealed truths, and wherein we meet, and that with much more certainty than in the Alcoran, an undoubted hiſtory of the firſt ages of the world, wiſe maxims for the conduct of this life, and infallible promiſes, and the moſt undoubted aſſurances with regard to eternity.

The End of the Diſcourſe on the Alcoran, and Vol. I.

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